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THE
HISTORY
OF THE WONDERFUL
Don *Ignatius Loyola de Guipuscoa*;

Founder of the ORDER of the

JESUITS.

WITH

An Account of the Establishment and
Government of that powerful Order.

Translated from the FRENCH.

In Two VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



L O N D O N:

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MDCCLIV.

THE HISTORY

OF THE WORLD

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in him will be seen a visionary, ambitious, active and noble, who, after a long and arduous education, by his talents and industry, drew to his party several persons, who, by his knowledge assisted him in the execution of his order; an order, which, notwithstanding the obstacles opposed to its establishment, by the ecclesiastical and secular powers, has succeeded with amazing rapidity, and which, by a policy yet more formidable than that of the old man of the mountain, has caused the timid monarchs tremble.

THE HISTORY
Of the Renown'd
Don IGNATIUS DE GUIRUSCOA.

The name of this extraordinary man was

My present undertaking is to write the history of a *Spanish* gentleman, who proposing to copy the wonderful achievements of the heroes of the legend, quitted a military life to dedicate himself to the service of the *Virgin Mary*, and after having vowed himself her knight, in this quality traversed a great part of the world, rendering himself as famous by his extravagancies in spiritual knight-errantry, as his illustrious countryman *Don Quixote* was afterwards in temporal.

of eleven children: his mother, the *Virgin Mary*, brought him into

IN him will be seen a visionary, ambitious, daring, artful, insinuating, active and indefatigable, who, after a late and ill-directed education, by his fanaticism supported with an exterior gravity, drew to his party several persons, whose sublime knowledge assisted him in the institution of his order; an order which, notwithstanding the obstacles opposed to its establishment, by both the ecclesiastical and secular powers, has surpassed, with amazing rapidity, all other orders in riches, credit and authority; and which, by a policy yet more formidable than that of the old man of the mountain, has found the secret of making the most powerful and intrepid monarchs tremble.

THE name of this extraordinary man was *Ignatius*, instituter and first general of the monarchical order of the Ignatians. He was born in the year 1491, in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, in a country of *Biscay*, which is now called *Guipuscoa*. *Don Bertram*, his father, lord of *Ogues* and *Loyola*, held one of the first ranks among the nobility of that country, and his mother, *Marine Saiz Lizne*, of the illustrious house of the lords *de Balde*, was allied to the counts *de la Puebla*, whose estates and titles they afterwards inherited. *Ignatius* was the youngest of eleven children: his mother, in honour of the Virgin *Mary's* delivery, brought him into

into the world in a stable. Some Contention happening to arise among his relations concerning the name which should be given him, this extraordinary infant, to the astonishment of all who were present, cried out, "*Ignatius* is my name," and he was accordingly called so. He passed his childhood at *Arevalo*, a city of old *Castile*, with *Don Juan Velasco*, grand-treasurer to the catholic king. This nobleman, who had no children, intreated *Don Bertram*, his friend, to grant him one of his; and having obtained *Ignatius*, educated him with as much care as if he had been his own son. Having passed his infancy, *Don Bertram* who found his wit, humour and manners proper for a court, sent him thither with the consent of his friend, and made him page to the catholic king. But the young *Ignatius*, too restless to bear the inactive life of a courtier, quitted it with disgust, and resolved to embrace the profession of arms, as more conformable to the native fire and vivacity of his temper. *Don Antonio Manrique*, duke *de Najare*, his relation, and a grandee of *Spain*, to whom he communicated his design, approved of it, and made him learn all the exercises necessary for a cavalier, undertaking himself to teach him the art of war, which no one understood better. *Ignatius*, under so good a Master, soon ren-

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dered himself capable of serving his prince; he passed through all the military degrees, and on many occasions discovered a very extraordinary valour. Glory and love were his predominant passions; he could not comprehend how a man nobly born could live honourably without ambition, or happily without love: these two passions engrossed him wholly in their turns. While the campaign lasted he devoted himself entirely to glory, and sought it eagerly amidst the dangers of the field; but while the army remained in summer or winter-quarters, he relieved the fatigues of war with the softness of love.

In this manner he lived till he was twenty nine Years of age, when, all on a sudden, he became disgusted with the world, and that with an ambition which appeared to him more worthy of his great heart; he resolved, however dear the sacrifice, to take upon him the life of a saint errant, and to surpass all who had gone before him in so painful an undertaking. This surprising metamorphosis was produced by the following accident.

The French having besieged *Pampelune*, the capital of *Navarre*, *Ignatius*, who had been left in that place, to animate the garrison, though without any command, not being able, either by his remonstrances, promises,

mises or threats, to hinder them from opening their gates to the enemy, retired into the citadel. The besiegers being informed that they were in want of provisions, offered them an interview in order to induce them to capitulate; but elevated with the advantage they had gained, they proposed conditions so hard, that *Ignatius*, who was present at the conference, broke it off haughtily and returned into the citadel, determined to bury himself in its ruins rather than submit to so shameful a capitulation. The *French*, enraged at their rash resistance, mounted to the assault; *Ignatius* at the head of the bravest of his soldiers, appeared upon the breach with his sword in his hand, and received the assailants with intrepidity. They fought with fury on both sides and soon made a great slaughter. In the heat of the battle a piece of stone struck *Ignatius* on the left leg, and in the same moment a cannonball broke his right. The *Navarrese*, seeing their chief fall, yielded at discretion; but the *French* used their victory with great moderation; they carried *Ignatius* to their general's quarters, treated him with much respect, and when he was in a condition to be sent away, conducted him in a litter to the castle of *Loyola*. As soon as he arrived there surgeons were sent for to examine his right leg, which pained him extremely. They

immediately declared that it was ill set, and that the bones were out of their place, and to restore them to their natural situation, it was necessary the leg should be again dis-jointed. *Ignatius*, without any hesitation, gave up himself to their will, and suffered the operation without discovering the least signs of fear.

BUT a violent fever ensuing, weakened him to such a degree that they judged it necessary to make him receive the sacraments. It was the vigil of the blessed apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. The same day the physicians pronounced that he could not get over that night, and that nothing less than a miracle could recal him to life. There was indeed a miracle worked in his imagination, which was very strong, the manner was this ;

FALLING asleep when his thoughts were wholly engrossed by *St. Peter*, in honour of whom he had made a poem in the *Spanish* language ; he dreamed this apostle, as a reward for the praises he had bestowed on him, cured him with his hand : this dream had so admirable an effect upon the sick man, that when he waked, he found himself quite out of danger, his pains ceased, and his strength was on a sudden renewed.

HIS leg, ill set the first time, was not so well done the next, as to leave it quite free from
from

from deformity; a bone which advanced too high under the knee, hindered the cavalier from wearing his boot tight. *Ignatius*, who loved gracefulness and neatness in every thing, resolved to have this bone cut away; in vain did the surgeons represent to him that the operation would be very painful, and that it would be an excess of folly in him to suffer it, to remedy so inconsiderable a defect; he counted the pain as nothing, provided his leg was well shaped; he would not allow himself to be bound or held, but suffered them to cut off the bone even to the quick, without uttering the least outcry or changing his countenance.

THIS was not the only torment he endured, rather than have any deformity in his person, his right thigh was drawn up a little by the wound he had received in it, and the fear of halting with it, made him put himself to the torture of having his leg stretched violently with an iron machine; but whatever efforts they could use, they could never bring it to the length of the other, so that it always continued a little shorter than the left.

IGNATIUS, though he continued to grow better, was nevertheless still obliged to keep his bed; and being mortally afflicted to see himself reduced to this state of inaction, not knowing what to do, or how to

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wear away his time, he asked for some books of knight-errantry to divert him, as they could not then find any in the castle of *Loyola*, although it was generally very well furnished with them; instead of those prophane fables, they brought him the *flor sanctorum*, in the *Spanish* language, which he read for want of other books. This consecrated romance, full of marvellous stories, struck him at first as much, and afterwards more, than the books of chivalry, in which he had, till then, taken such delight.

HE admired in these saints errant that absolute dependance on providence, which made them wander from one end of the world to the other without any provisions, and he resolved to follow their example. He considered with astonishment the holy professors of solitude, and particularly the anchorites of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, men of quality, covered with rough hair cloaths, girded with heavy chains of iron, macerated with fasts and excessive watchings, buried alive in frightful deserts or horrible caverns, and said afterwards to himself, "These men, who have treated their innocent flesh with much barbarity, have they any other nature than me, why then do not I do what they have done?"

BUT these first impulses of fervour vanished as soon as formed. The remembrance

brance of a lady in the *Spanish* court, who was descended from one of the first families in that kingdom, and whom he had created queen of his thoughts, made him immediately forget both the wandering and solitaty saints, and the desire of imitating them. His soul being wholly filled with the charms of the beautiful *Castilian*, he employed himself in seeking for means to merit her good opinion, by putting a glorious end to some extraordinary adventure; he passed all his time in recalling to his memory what the greatest heroes of knight-errantry had done to gain the esteem of the ladies, and studied day and night how he might enterprise something yet more heroick to please his princess.

Tired with musing upon this subject, he again set himself to read the lives of the saints, and took great pleasure in comparing their actions with the most illustrious paladins. "Those," said he, "have indeed protected the oppressed, defended the honour of ladies, overcome enchantments, put armies to the rout, dissipated fleets, cleft down giants, cut serpents to pieces, chastised tyrants, saved empires, conquered kingdoms: but the saints have given sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, hearing to the deaf, and health to the sick; they have restored the lame, cured the lepers, re-animated the dead limbs of paralyticks, tamed monsters,

killed dragons, serpents, crocodiles; traversed, like wild birds, vast plains of air; passed on foot through the waves of the sea; made springs arise amidst the barren earth, given sweetness to bitter waters, walked through devouring flames untouched; eat poisoned meats, and drink of poisoned drinks without infection, foretold the future, read hearts, raised the dead, cast out demons, triumphed over hell and conquered heaven."

"GLORY, added he, for which I have a passion so ardent, was the end which both the one and the other of these heroes proposed; for her they have undertaken such difficult adventures, born so many fatigues, suffered so many miseries, ran through so many dangers, braved hunger, thirst, and the injuries of the weather, hated their own flesh, despised life, and defied death.

"BUT what have these paladins gained as the reward of all their glorious labours, so boasted of in the annals of chivalry? Empty glory, which they enjoyed but a moment! Glory, which will not perhaps reach to future generations; which, however splendid, and however diffused even to the extremities of the earth, will last only to the end of time. Histories, brass, and marble, at most, will preserve their memory among men; but these illustrious monuments will perish with the

the world, and this glory will perish with them ; but the glory of the saints will eternally endure. What then can I do better, concluded he, than to fight like them under the standards of spiritual chivalry, since it has so many advantages over the temporal?"

His resolution being taken, he deliberated not a moment upon the choice of the examples he should follow ; St. *Dominic* and St. *Francis D'Assis* presented themselves immediately to his mind, one as the spiritual *Orlando*, the other as the spiritual *Amadis*. The difficulty of imitating these sublime heroes did not affright him, his courage made him think all things possible, and he was heard to cry out in the ardour of his zeal, "Why may I not undertake what St. *Dominic* has undertaken ? Why can I not perform what St. *Francis* has performed ?"

MEAN while, that his ardour might not cool, he passed all his nights in prayer and weeping for his sins : being risen one night as usual, to give free course to his tears, he prostrated himself before an image of the virgin ; and consecrating himself to the service of *Mary*, with sentiments of the most tender affection, swore to her an inviolable fidelity. Immediately he heard a horrible noise, the house shook, all the glass-windows in his chamber were shattered to pieces. Without doubt it was the devil, who, enraged

enraged to see himself abandoned by our hero, had caused this shock, to the end that he might perish under the ruins of the castle of *Loyola*: but the intrepid *Ignatius* let fly a great sign of the cross at the evil spirit, whom he obliged to retreat; the breach which he made in the house when he retired, they shew to this day; for it never could be repaired; because of the insupportable stench that exhales from it, and prevents any ones approaching it.

WHILE he waited the cure of his leg, he again read over the lives of the saints, and buried himself in drawing with pencils in different colours, such of their actions as struck his imagination most. By these means he impressed them deeply in his mind, and by the force of meditation felt himself inflamed with so ardent a desire to imitate them, that he imagined himself already become eminent for holiness, and saw his name sparkle in the calendar. Transported with the pleasure he found in these flattering thoughts, he dreamt of nothing but to render himself, by his labours, worthy of being one day publicly invoked. With this view he set himself attentively to reflect upon the most extraordinary actions he had remarked in reading the legend, and the lives of the holy fathers of the deserts; and found nothing there which appeared to
him

him above his strength. "What, said he, I, who am of a complection so robust, cannot I do what so many saints have done with delicate constitutions; cannot I, like St. *Hilariano*, take four figs a day for my nourishment, after the sun is set; or live like St. *Appollonius* upon raw herbs which the earth produces without cultivation, and which the beasts graze upon; or sleep leaning upon a stone like St. *Pacomo*; or sit in the trunk of a hollow tree, environed on all sides with pointed stakes, like St. *Zuirard*; or not even rest at all, like St. *Dorilbeus* the *Theban*? why can I not bend the knee two hundred times a day like St. *Guingale*; pray three hundred times a day like St. *Paul* the anchorite; or after the example of St. *Polierone*, offer up my prayers with the root of a large oak upon my shoulders? What! I, who have with so much constancy suffered such cruel torments, only to have it in my power, to wear a *Morocco* boot tight upon my thigh, shall I refuse to suffer less evils to become a great saint? And if one St. *Daniel* has had the courage to imitate the admirable St. *Simeon Stylites*, who stood both night and day upon the top of a column forty cubits high, what shall hinder me from doing the same thing; or at least from keeping myself cramped in a cage, placed upon the extremity of a rock, or suspended in the air, as was the practice of

of St. *Baradat* and St. *Thabelle*? What shall hinder me from extinguishing the fires of concupiscence by throwing myself naked into a swarm of flies, as St. *Macairus* of *Alexandria*; or into a heap of thorns and briars, like St. *Benedict*; or into water in the middle of winter, like St. *Adhelm* and St. *Ulfric*; or into frost and snow, like the seraphic St. *Francis*? What hinders me from giving myself a thousand blows a day, as did St. *Anthelme*; or even from imitating the great St. *Dominic* of the buckler, who gave himself three hundred thousand lashes every week, repeating his psalter twenty times through? Were their bodies made otherwise than mine, or will I yield to them in ardour or courage?" 'Twas thus that *Ignatius*, after having compared temporal knight-errantry with the spiritual, gave the preference to the latter, because he found it infinitely more marvellous: he passed insensibly from admiration of the one, to a greater admiration of the other, and from this great admiration to imitation.

A vision which he had a few days after, contributed not a little to confirm him in the choice he had made. He imagined during one very dark night that he saw the Virgin: she was surrounded with a most shining light, and honoured him with several gracious looks. He felt his soul melting
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with a celestial tenderness during this vision, which continued a long time. It seemed to him that it had purified his heart, and quite effaced those obscene images which his past life had traced in his imagination: and as the severe regimen he was obliged to keep while his leg was under cure had so weakened his passions, that he felt no more the emotions of the flesh; he believed that the Virgin had favoured him with this rare gift of continence. His leg being now well enough cured, he prepared himself secretly to go and seek adventures, persuaded that if his family discovered his design they would use all possible methods to hinder him. He did not however so well constrain himself but that several things escaped him, which argued a commotion in his mind, so that Don *Martin Garcia*, his eldest brother, who, since the death of Don *Bertram*, had possessed the castle of *Loyola*, suspected he had some extravagant project in his head. In order to satisfy himself one particular day, after having praised the great qualities that heaven had bestowed on him, and the glory he had acquired at the siege of *Pampelune*, he conjured him not to destroy the high reputation he had gained, nor to dishonour, by a stupid devotion, an illustrious family who had always distinguished themselves by their sense and bravery. *Ignatius*, who imagined

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gined himself actuated by a divine impulse, replied to his brother, that he was very far from the design of committing any follies, that he should always continue to live like a wise man, and never do any thing which might sully the glory of the house of *Loyola*. Although this vague reply gave but little contentment to Don *Martin*, it nevertheless made him hope that his brother would make reflections which might hinder him from precipitately taking the flight he had meditated; and that some good soups, and sufficient nourishment, would restore all.

WHILE he flattered himself with this hope, *Ignatius*, who burnt with desire to leave *Loyola*, mounted his mule, saying he would go and see the Duke *de Najaro*, who had often sent to enquire after his health, and who lived at *Navarret*, a little neighbouring city. After having paid this nobleman a short visit of ceremony, he remounted his mule; and when he was out of *Navarret* dismissed his two valets who attended him, and gave them part of the money he had about him. When they were gone he took the rout of *Montserrat*, a monastery of St. *Benedict**, which was a day's journey from *Barcelona*,

* As the story which gave rise to the foundation of the monastery of *Montserrat* is not known over all the world, as it merits to be, I believe the reader will not be

Barcelona, built upon a mountain all covered with rocks, and not less famous for the horrible prodigy which gave rise to its foundation, than the miracles an image of the Virgin is reported to have performed there, by the pious credulity of the pilgrims, who, from all

be sorry to find it abridged in this history. This is the substance of what may be found in a book very rare, entitled the History of the Miracles performed by the intercession of our lady of *Montserrat*.

The first count of *Barcelona* had a daughter, a most accomplished beauty, who was possessed by the devil. Her father carried her to a hermit named brother *John Guerin*, surnamed the holy man, and conjured him by his prayers to chase away the fiend that possessed her. This *Guerin* performed; but for fear lest the devil should enter again into the beautiful body, the count, by the advice of the same devil, left his daughter nine days with the holy man, who fell in love with her, ravished her, and cut her throat.

Guerin went to *Rome* to ask pardon for these two execrable crimes: he confessed himself to the pope, who, struck with horror at the recital, ordered him, by way of penance, to return to *Montserrat*, walking upon his hands and feet, and never to speak, or stand upright, till an infant of the age of three or four months bid him rise, and told him our Lord had pardoned his sins. Seven years after the count of *Barcelona* hunting upon the mountain of *Montserrat*, found in a cavern a man hairy like a bear, and walking upon his hands and feet. They took him alive and carried him to *Barcelona*, where they kept him in a dungeon of the castle chained like a wild beast. Some days after this the count gave a solemn feast on occasion of a child's being born to him. The guests having heard some talk of the hairy man, desired

all parts of the catholic world, come with confidence to beg of this image the cure of their maladies. He had made a vow of perpetual chastity at leaving *Navarret*, not only to make himself more worthy of serving the Virgin when he went armed as her chevalier, but

desired to see him. He was accordingly brought into the banquetting hall at the same moment that the child, whose birth they were celebrating, and who was but three or four months old, was brought in his nurse's arms. The child had no sooner cast his eyes upon the new *Lycaon*, than he cried out with a loud and distinct voice, "Stand upright brother *John Guerin*, for God has pardoned thy sins." He immediately rose up, and in an erect posture related his whole history to the count, who ratified his pardon, saying, "Since God has pardoned thy sins, I pardon thee also with all my heart. But, added he, I desire to know where you have buried my daughter, that I may have her body brought to *Barcelona*, and interred in the tomb of her ancestors." *Guerin* showed the place where he had buried her; and the ground being opened, to the great astonishment of the spectators, the count's daughter was found alive, and ravishingly beautiful. Instead of the wound which the hermit had made when he cut her throat, nothing was to be seen but a red circle, not unlike a scarlet collar. And she told the count her father, that the Virgin, to whom she had recommended herself, had thus miraculously preserved her. In memory of this surprizing miracle, a convent was built in the same place for ladies, over whom the count's daughter was made abbess, and brother *John Guerin* was appointed their confessor and director. Near this place was found an image of the Virgin, sparkling with rays of light, and perfuming the adjacent parts with sweet odours. In attempting to carry

but also to confirm the favour which he believed he had received in the vision we have related; for although he thought himself then not subject to the temptations of the flesh, yet he suspected himself for the future, and feared his smothered fire would rekindle again if he added not to that gift of continence a vow of keeping it for ever.

In prosecuting this vow he met with an adventure, in which the zeal he had conceived for the service of *Mary* appeared with much lustre. One of those *Mahometan Moors* which were then spread all over the kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Arragon*, joined him in the way, and as travellers are accustomed to do, asked him to what place he was going? *Ignatius* made no difficulty of telling him he was going to *Montserrat*. He related to the *Moor* the history of the miraculous image they adore there, and falling insensibly into a discourse of the divine perfections of our lady, exalted, above all, the glorious preroga-

tion of carrying it away, it was found so heavy that it was impossible to remove it. Judging by this prodigy, that she was resolved to remain in the place where the daughter of the count of *Barcelona* had been interred, they built there the monastery of our lady of *Montserrat*, and placed in it this image of which they recount so many miracles; before which *St. Ignatius* performed the ceremony of watching his arms, when he consecrated himself to the service of the Virgin in quality of her knight.

tive she had of being the only woman who was a mother and virgin at the same time. Softly, I pray you, said the *Saracen*; I am willing to grant you that she preserved her virginity till the birth of her son, but I insist upon it that she must have lost it in bringing him into the world." "She did not lose it, replied *Ignatius* all inflamed with a holy fury; and if thou dost not confess that her maternity did not make her lose her virginity thou shalt presently pay for the horrible blasphemy thou hast uttered against this admirable virgin-mother, virgin of virgins, and queen of virgins." "Sir knight, replied the *Moor* in a very soft tone of voice, make me comprehend, I conjure you, how a virgin could become a mother without ceasing to be a virgin, and then I will confess with all my heart that your lady continued a virgin after Childbearing." "And if I do make thee comprehend it, replied *Ignatius*, what merit wilt thou have from believing it." "None, answered the *Moor* mighty humbly; but should I have more, if I believed a thing which implied an absolute contradiction?" He had the Assurance to turn into ridicule the belief of his adversary: but perceiving he had to do with a man who understood better how to fight than to dispute, he betook himself to his heels and ran off in a hurry.

IGNATIUS galloped after him immediately, and was upon the point of overtaking him, when, all on a sudden, he was seized with a scruple that stopped him in a place where the road divided itself into two paths, one of which led to *Montserrat*, the other to a market-town whither the *Moor* was gone. Uncertain whether he ought to run after the *Moor*, or go on his own way, he stopped for some time deliberating with himself which of the two to chuse: at last not growing wiser by the delay, and fearing to transgress the laws of chivalry if he did not pursue the blasphemer, he resolved, in imitation of the antient knights-errant, to leave to the wisdom of his mule the decision of this doubt; and letting go the bridle suffered the beast to go as it pleased, fully resolved to stab the infidel if it took the way to the town. Happily for the *Saracen* it marched directly to *Montserrat*; which made *Ignatius* believe that his beast was inspired like the goose and goat†, which an army of near two hundred thousand crusa-

† The chronicles of *Jerusalem*, in the last chapter of the first book, relate, that in the year *MLXXXVI*, near two hundred thousand crusaders, commanded by *Emico*, *Clarebalde* and *Thomas*, abandoned themselves to the conduct of a goose and a goat, whom they believed to be divinely inspired, to conduct them from *Hungary* to *Jerusalem*.

ders formally received in *Hungary* for their guides; and therefore concluded, that heaven did not demand vengeance for the blasphemies he had heard. Being now arrived at the town, which stands at the foot of the mountain, he bought a coat of coarse cloth, a rope to serve him as a girdle, a pair of sandals and a great cloak, and placing this furniture of a religious warrior on his saddle-bow, went in haste to *Montserrat*.

As soon as he got there he began to make a general confession of all the sins he had been guilty of from his infancy, which he had committed to writing with a scrupulous exactness. Three entire days were employed in reciting them to a monk of the house, who was general confessor to the pilgrims; and having received absolution, he asked advice concerning the austere life he proposed to follow. This religious, who lived very austere himself, did not fail to commend the resolution of *Ignatius*, and to confirm him therein.

BEGINNING now to put it in execution, he went at night to find out a poor man, and stripping himself to his shirt gave him his cloaths secretly; then dressing himself in his gown of stuff he returned to the church of the monastery, and, at his entrance, remembered what he had read in *Amadis* and other romances, that new knights, before they received

ceived the order of knighthood, watched their arms the whole night; or to speak in the paladin stile, performed the ceremony of watching their arms. Not to fail in a formality so essential, he watched all night of the 24th of *March* of the year 1522, before the image of the Virgin, sometimes standing, sometimes kneeling, with his eyes always turned towards the image, devoting himself to the service of *Mary*, in quality of her knight. Having hung up his sword and his poignard at a pillar near the altar of the Virgin, and presented his mule to the monastery, he went from *Montserrat* on foot very early in the morning for fear of being known by any persons of his country.

He marched with his staff in his hand, his gourd on one side, his head uncovered, and only one leg and foot bare; the other being still painful by reason of his wound, he thought proper to keep covered, that it might not be inflamed in the nights. He walked on with a vigour which proceeded from the inexpressible satisfaction he felt at being armed knight of the Virgin, and finding himself at liberty to seek adventures. Scarce had he travelled a league, when he heard behind him the voice of a cavalier who run after him full speed. It was an officer of justice of *Montserrat*, who came to ask him if it was true that he had given some rich cloaths to

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a beggar whom they had seized, and the judge of the place had put into prison, because from something he had said they suspected he had stolen them. *Ignatius* confessed the truth, to deliver the innocent; but would not discover himself to the officer, who enquired his name and quality.

AFTER this false alarm he pursued his way to *Manreze*, then a little obscure city about three leagues from *Montserrat*, but since rendered it extremely famous by our knight for the penance he performed there; a penance which is with reason far more extolled than that of *Amadis de Gaul* upon the poor-rock, which the admirable Don *Quixote* renewed upon the black mountain.

OUR knight when he arrived at *Manreze*, went to lodge at the hospital of the city, and felt an excess of satisfaction at seeing himself of the number of the beggars there. To conform himself to their manner of life, he begged his bread from door to door; and that no one might be able to discover his quality by a certain air which persons well born preserve even under rags, he studied the gross manners of those with whom he lived at the hospital, and forced himself not only to imitate them, but even to improve upon what he had remarked most loathsome in them. He succeeded in this attempt to a miracle. His nasty hair hung in disorder and

and concealed one half of his face; his beard as long, as much neglected, and as filthy as his hair, covered the other half; this joined to his nails which he suffered to grow to a frightful length, so much disguised him, that he had rather the appearance of a bear than a human creature.

He was indeed so frightful and so ridiculous together, that when he appeared the children would shew him to each other, and follow him through the streets with loud outcries; the women of whom he asked charity took flight, scared at his horrible figure; gay people made him their jest, and the grave were of opinion that he ought to be sent to a mad-house. He suffered all these insults with a marvellous patience, and even affected to be more stupid than he really was, that he might excite more wonder, and have more occasions of mortifying those emotions of pride and self-love which had not yet ceased to force their passage amidst these strange follies.

He began his penance by keeping a fast every day of bread and water, except Sunday, when he eat a few herbs boiled and mixed with ashes. He girded his waist with an iron chain, wore under his coarse gown a rough hair cloth, and, in imitation of *St. Dominic*, gave himself the discipline three times a day. Besides this, he would

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watch

watch all night, and used no other bed than the bare earth.

He spent seven hours in prayer every day; and though he had been told only of vocal prayer, he prayed sometimes mentally, without uttering a word, and continued whole hours immoveable as a statue.

He went often to pay homage to the Virgin Mary, his lady, in her temple of *Valladolid*, which is but half a league from *Manreze*; and to render himself more agreeable in her eyes, he added to the hair-cloth and iron-chain which he wore, a girdle of certain very prickly herbs.

He had already passed four months in this fantastical course of life without the devil's bestirring himself to disturb the joy he tasted in it: but says the sage who transmitted to posterity the great actions of our hero, this evil spirit observing him one day in the hospital, pleased amidst the filth of this miserable abode, was not able to suffer such an excess of humility in a man bred up in the palace of kings. "What hast thou to do in this hospital, suggested he to him? what infamy in a man of thy quality to take upon him the life of a beggar? Are dirt and filth the essence of holiness? And canst thou not become good without suffering thyself to be devoured alive with vermin? Art thou not ashamed thus to degrade thy nobility,

bility, and dishonour thy illustrious house? Heaven, which bestowed on thee a generous heart, was willing thou shouldst be a holy knight, but not a miserable vagabond: quit then this horrid place, go shew thy virtues in the court or the army, thy example will there produce more advantage than in an hospital."

These thoughts found immediately some access into the mind of *Ignatius*, but he soon discovered the snare the tempter laid for him under suggestions so conformable to good sense: he conceived, that he did not dispose him to a rational conduct, but to dissuade him from spiritual knight-errantry; and therefore to confound the evil spirit, and prepare himself at the same time for adventures, in which he foresaw a habit of poverty would be necessary, he accustomed himself more than ever to the life of a beggar.

THE demon confused at having been so well resisted, practised a second temptation. He made the adventure of the mendicant at *Montserrat* public, and spread all over *Manreze* a report that the poor unknown, whom every one laughed at, was a man of quality performing penance, and who, to conceal the splendor of his family, had stripped himself of his rich clothes, and exchanged them for those of a poor man. They then beheld *Ignatius* with other eyes; they came to see him out of curiosity, and

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found, under the hideous mask of poverty, a noble air which they had never perceived before; and those who had mocked him most became his greatest admirers. Satan applauded himself already with the success of his stratagem; but his joy was short, *Ignatius* did not fall into the snare, he took flight and sought for a retreat, where he might be better concealed than in *Manreze*. He found one at the foot of a mountain a quarter of a league from that city. It was a cave which, like that of *Montefino's*, was environed with bushes and briars, but more frightful and more difficult of access. After having made his way through the briars and the thorns in spite of their prickles, which mangled his flesh; and with much pain pressed through the opening of the cave, which was very narrow, he sunk into the hollow of this den, where he took up his abode.

It was in this horrible cavern, dug into the rock, and which received a small glimmering of light from the sun by a little crevice, that our knight exercised upon his body those cruelties, which have rendered it so famous. Four or five times a day he gave himself a shower of blows with an iron chain; and after the example of *St. Jerome*, struck himself violently upon the breast with a flint-stone. He continued three or four days without

without taking any nourishment, and when his strength failed him eat some bitter roots he found near his cave, or a little bit of musty bread which he brought with him from the hospital. These extravagancies brought him so low, that he fell into continual fainting. Some persons who went in search of him, having discovered his retreat, found him one day at the entrance of his cavern, where he had fainted through abstinence. A little nourishment which they forced him to take having recovered him from his swoon, he would have regained the bottom of his grot, but in spite of his reluctance they carried him back to the hospital of *Manreze*.

ONE day, when he was overcharged with his severities, he began to be discouraged, and the devil, who never slept, seized this occasion to detach him entirely from the penitient life he had taken. "How canst thou, said he to him internally, how canst thou support a life so austere during seventy years which thou hast yet to live†?" But *Ignatius* replied in himself, as we understand by *Ribadeneyra*, the historian of his most secret thoughts, "Thou who speakest in this

† *Qui, inquit, fieri potest, ut duram hanc, & foram agrestium hominum vitam septuaginta annos, ad quos avertitur es, perferas?* Ribad. vit. Ign. lib. 1. cap. vi.

manner, canst thou assure me of one hour of life. 'Tis not thou who art master of my days; and though my penance should even continue seventy years, what are the evils of so short a duration, compared to the eternal happiness which shall be the reward."

He had no sooner repelled this temptation than he was assaulted with another not less dangerous; he was seized with so violent a fever, that he became as enfeebled in body as he was in mind: being fallen into a delirium, and having his imagination filled with the great austerities he had practised, he believed he heard a voice which said to him, "Fear not *Ignatius*, death so terrible to sinners has nothing in it which ought to fright thee, thy prayers, thy watchings, thy fasts, thy mortifications, above all that eminent degree of holiness to which thou art arrived in so short a time, give thee a right to appear with a full assurance before God. Dost thou not see thy coarse gown, thy discipline, thy iron chain, thy flint-stone, thy shirt of hair, ranged in the form of a trophy before thy cavern, yet wet with thy tears, and stained with thy blood? Beholdest thou not heaven opened, where the angels with palms and crowns in their hands invite thee to come and enjoy the triumphs which they have there prepared for thee."

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It was with much difficulty that he preserved himself from the vain glory which this agreeable vision filled him with; scarce could he prevent himself from falling into the fault of St. *Simeon Stylites*, who imagining he saw an angel of light coming to him in a fiery chariot to carry him to heaven, lifted up his foot to enter the divine vehicle. If *Ignatius* did not do the same thing, 'twas because he feared the penance he had suffered was too short to have expiated the long disorders of his past life. The view of hell, which seemed to open under his feet, ready to swallow him up, dissipated the heavenly vision, and enabled him to surmount the temptation. He was so terrified with the danger he had escaped, that he engaged the devotees who attended him in his sickness to say to him incessantly, "Remember your sins, and think not that paradise will be open for a miserable sinner like you."

THIS was not, however, the most violent assault that *Ignatius* sustained in his retreat at *Manreze*; he was yet ignorant of what the masters of the spiritual life call internal pains, dryness, insensibilities, consternations, despairs. The brain being dried by long abstinences, he dream'd often, and his dreams were always agreeable. After all he was happy because he thought himself so; but these sweet illusions, which made him sup-
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port with pleasures the hard labour of his penance; changed themselves all of a sudden into a black melancholy, which made him find nothing but bitterness in his mortifications: tormented with ridiculous scruples, agitated with vain terrors, he wept day and night, and was not able to take a moment's rest.

CONSUMED thus with sorrow he sought in fasting and mortifications a cure for his evils; but the more he fasted, and the more he mortified himself the more his body and mind were enfeebled, and the more his melancholy augmented. He never ceased disputing with himself upon the state of his conscience but without being able to restore it to peace. The general confession he had made at *Montserrat* seem'd to him not exact enough to re-assure him for his past life, and all the actions of his present appeared to him so many sins. Overwhelmed with these sad thoughts, he groaned, he cried, he cast himself upon the earth, rolling himself about in the violence of his agitation, like a man oppressed with the racking pains of a cholic; and when he raised himself up, his strength being quite exhausted, he was under a dejection of spirit, which rendered him stupid and mute.

AFTER many useless reflections, in which his weakened mind was wholly lost, he imagined

gined that obedience alone was able to cure him, and that his torments would cease when his confessor commanded him to forget the sins which he had already committed. But as he had invented this remedy himself, he made a scruple of proposing it to his spiritual father.

PRAYER was the asylum to which he had recourse. He used to cry out with all his strength, " Succour me, Lord, O succour me ; for 'tis from thee alone that I expect the peace of my soul ; mean time I will not refuse a director given me by thy hand, and shouldst thou give me a little dog to direct me, and calm the agitation of my troubled mind, I will obey him as my master, and follow him as my guide." But neither bears nor men being sent him, he believed that God had abandoned him, and that his damnation was fixed. This frightful idea finished the disorder of his mind ; he thought himself already in hell ; he roared like a lion, and gnashed his teeth like one of the damned.

THE Dominicans of *Manreze*, moved at the deplorable state in which they saw him, had the charity to take him into their retirement and endeavour to cure him of his frenzy. But they were not able to succeed ; on the contrary they rather augmented than lessened it : and even there he had so violent

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a fit, that being one day alone in his cell, he was upon the point of throwing himself from his window, to put an end to the horrible torments which the despair of his salvation made him endure. He was already upon the extremity of the precipice, but by good luck for spiritual knight-errantry, an interval of sense, which he felt in the moment that he was going to precipitate himself, made him stop, and, melting into tears, he cried, "No, Lord, I will not do it."

AT the same time he remembered to have read in the lives of the fathers of the deserts, that a certain hermit, who could not obtain of God the favour he asked for, made a vow neither to eat nor drink till his request had been granted. After the example of this hermit, he resolved to take no nourishment till he had recovered the tranquillity of mind which he enjoyed before. In effect he passed seven entire days without eating or drinking; but as his scruples still tormented him, and his strength was not yet abated by what he had done, he would have continued his fast much longer, if his confessor had not absolutely commanded him to break it. He obeyed, and this act of obedience had the virtue to restore him to his former tranquillity. But three days after, his doubts, his sorrows, his despair, returned with so much violence, that he would infallibly have

sunk under them, if it had not recurred in his mind, that he ought to think no longer on his old sins, since he had obtained absolution for them; he resolved at the same time to forget them, and immediately his troubles ceased.

He was not only freed from his vain scruples, but his black melancholy changed into a sweet frenzy, which made him taste consolations greater than the pains to which they succeeded; he passed in a manner from hell to heaven. These consolations, say the historians of his life, were apparitions, illuminations, extasies, and visions.

RECITING one day a book of prayers to the Virgin upon the stairs of the Dominican's church, he saw, under a corporeal representation, the most Holy Trinity as clearly as we see one another. This sight caused such a melting in his heart, that, walking in a solemn procession, he could not restrain his tears before the people: he thought of nothing but the Trinity; he spoke of nothing but the Trinity; he had his mind so taken up with the Trinity, that he composed upon this inexplicable mystery, a book containing twenty-four sheets, which is lost we know not how. This book in which, say they, the spirit of God had more share than the spirit of man, and which an ignorant cavalier, who hardly knew how to read and write, could not have composed without being

ing divinely inspired, is the more to be regretted, as we are there taught, no doubt, how three persons, really distinct, have but one and the same essence, and how this single essence, simple and indivisible, communicates itself to each of these three persons without being multiplied or divided. A little time after another vision discovered to him the order which God took in the creation of the world.

ANOTHER time he saw, during mass, at the moment of elevation, the body and blood of our Lord, under the forms of bread and wine. He knew that both the body and blood were not only under these forms, but even under each of the smallest particles of those forms, that by consecration, all the substance of the bread and wine was changed into the substance of the body and blood of our Lord; that after this change the accidents of the bread and wine remained, and subsisted in the same matter: in fine, that these accidents, sustained by a miracle, served as a veil for the flesh, and blood, and concealed from the eyes of the communicants a spectacle of as much horror as the repast of *Atreus*.

He after often saw, the Son of God and his divine mother. And one day, when he went to visit the church of *St. Paul*, a quarter of a league from the city, he sat down

down on the side of the *Cardonel*, which runs in the plain of *Manreze*, and being put into a reverie, his eyes fastened upon this river, he had a profound knowledge of all the mysteries together.

ANOTHER day, when he was praying before a Cross on the road to *Barcelona*, all the visions he had known before were, in a new vision, set before his eyes, with such a lustre, that it seemed to him the mysteries of faith had nothing of obscurity in them; he believed that he comprehended them perfectly well; and he said that though they had not been writ in the *Evangelists*, he should be ready to defend them even to the last drop of his blood.

OF all the illustrious illuminations with which he believed himself favoured, the most excellent, in his judgment, was this we have recounted. He had more things he said taught him in the short duration of this vision, than he learned in the whole course of his life by study. By these supernatural lights it was that he turned out so great a theologist, as he durst assure himself if all the holy scriptures were lost there would be nothing lost to him.

BEFORE this admirable illumination there appeared to him many times in full day, a figure of marvellous beauty, all shining with light, and which seemed to him to have the form

form of a serpent full of sparkling eyes. This charming figure, which he only saw, made him extremely happy, and when it disappeared he fell into a sorrow which rendered him pensive and sullen. He again saw, when he was at prayers before the cross, the apparition we have mentioned; but while he prayed he believed he discovered that it was only an illusion of the devil, who had taken this fantastic body to surprize him.

FROM this time he was no more plagued with his ugly horns, his hooked paws, his cloven feet, his tail twisted, and dragging on the ground, his black visage, and his hideous figure. Besides our knight feared him so little, that to make him tremble, and oblige him to fly, he needed only to menace him with the stick he carried in his hand.

It once happened, that the devil beat him, and another time was on the point to strangle him; but *Ignatius* comforted himself with being able to attribute these disgraces to the treachery of the evil spirit, who had treated him so basely while he slept.

In this hospital of *Manreze* he had an ecstasy which continued eight days, and though no one ever believed it, yet it was attested by an historian as worthy of being credited as *Ribadeneyra*, who reported the first.

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This long extasy began on saturday night, and ended the following saturday at the same hour. They believed him dead, and he would have been interred, if some people, who came to see his body, had not perceived his heart beat a little. He came to himself like the seven sleepers of *Ephesus**, and when he opened his eyes, he said twice with a tender and devout voice, "Ah Jesus!" The common opinion of his first companions, who often heard him speak of his visions at *Manreze*, is, that during this long extasy he was shewn the principal out-lines of that order of which he was to be the founder.

AN extasy so miraculous could not be concealed, the report spread about immediately, and all *Manreze* was filled with admiration at hearing of so astonishing a prodigy.

ALL these illuminations, these visions, these extasies, fatigued him in such a manner that he fell grievously ill. The magistrates of *Manreze*, who were no longer ig-

* Seven brothers of *Ephesus*, named *Maximian*, *Malchus*, *Martinian*, *Constantine*, *Denis*, *John* and *Serapion*, having under the government of *Decius*, refused to sacrifice to idols, retired into a cavern, where they were shut up by the prince, who commanded the mouth to be closed. There they slept and did not awake till the reign of the emperor *Theodosius*, about two hundred years after. See *Gregory VII.* of the *Glory of the Martyrs*, Book I. chapter xcv.

porant of his high birth, caused him to be carried to the hospital belonging to the good citizens, where the devotees attended him so carefully, that he was cured in a little time; but having recommenced his austerities before his health was perfectly established, a relapse cast him again into the danger from which he was so lately delivered, and he fell, by his own fault, into the same weakness a third time. These frequent relapses would have soon ruined his health if he had continued that excess of abstinence, which he had used since he was made knight of the Virgin; but a new design that came into his head preserved him still for knight-errantry.

REFLECTING one day upon the knowledge he imagined himself to have of all the mysteries, he thought heaven had not given it to him but to put him in a condition of labouring with success for the salvation of souls, and immediately he resolved to consecrate himself entirely to the evangelical ministry. And as this painful employ asked for strength and health, he moderated his austerities a little, quitted his gown of coarse linen to take one of coarse cloth, and covered his head with a cap of the same stuff: he corrected also what was disgusting in his exterior form; he cut his beard, combed his hair, made clean his face, pared

pared his nails, and coming out of his solitude, set himself to speak publicly of heavenly things, like a man who thought himself immediately instructed by God.

His flaming zeal did not only instruct by his voice, he was willing also to do it by his writings; and though all his learning then consisted in knowing how to read and write, he composed a book of mysticism so refined, that many persons have doubted whether a man so ignorant as he was at that time, could be the author. They might perhaps have doubted to this day, if the celebrated *Louis du Pont* had not assured us that God revealed this admirable book to our knight, and the Virgin *Mary* assisted him in composing it*. It is entitled *Spiritual Exercises*, a title which characterizes both the book and the author at the same time, the author who had his head full of warlike ideas, and the work, where these ideas were perpetually occurring.

* Refert LUDOVICUS DE PONTE, vir omni exceptione major, in Vita P. BALTHASARIS ALVAREZ, Cap. XLIII. Deum hæc Exercitia Sancto Patri nostro revelasse; imò per GABRIELEM, Archangelum, non remissi fuisse à Deiparâ Virgine significatum, se Patronam eorum, Fundatricem, atque Adjutricem fuisse, decessitque IGNATIUM, ut ea sic conciperet; quo nomine se huic Operi dedisse initium. Alegambe & Sotwel, in Bibliothec. Societ. Jesu, pag. 1.

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ONE might there see our Lord under the figure of a warlike king, who invited his subjects to follow him in a military expedition, in which he would render himself master of all the earth ; and invited them under these advantageous conditions, that they should be treated in the same manner with himself ; that they should do nothing, and suffer nothing, in which he would not first set the man example ; and at last, that they should be rewarded in proportion as they partook with him in the fatigues of the war.

'Tis in one of the meditations which these exercises are filled with *, that they pretend God shewed him the general plan of his society under martial images. He represents our Lord, and the devil as two powerful enemies, who declare war, levy troops, display their colours, put themselves into the field, exhort their men to follow them, and to fight valiantly.

UPON this plan of war, as we shall see in the latter part of this history, *Ignatius* has established his formidable order, where the knights put the helmet on their heads, and are all heroes and thunderbolts of war ; and when any one takes part with either side, he is himself alone an army.

IN the mean time our knight dreamed of nothing but how to execute the resolutions

* Meditation of two standards.

he had formed of going to the holy land. At first his design in making this voyage was only to satisfy his own particular devotion, but afterwards, animated by the example of the knight of the crucifix†, who, by an internal impulse, which came, as he believed, from Heaven, had undertaken it to convert the foldan of *Babylon*; he resolved, by a like motion, to go and plant the catholic faith in *Palestine*.

HE only staid at *Manreze* till the plague, which he heard then reigned at *Barcelona*, ceased. He was no sooner apprized that it was greatly diminished, and that the communication by sea began to be re-established, when he prepared himself to go.

HE did not steal himself away from *Manreze*, as he had done from *Montserrat*; he declared his intended voyage to his friends, without yet telling the design he had of making war against Mahometanism. They used every effort to detain him, representing to him the fatigues and perils of so long a journey; but neither their prayers or reasons were able to stop him one moment. He apprehended the least stay made him guilty of the loss of many souls, which he imagined himself capable of rescuing from the impostor.

† St. Francis d'Assise, to whom his children gave this title in the litanies they made in his honour.

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SOME of his friends offered to accompany him, others presented their purses, and all urged him at last to take a guide, who understood *Latin* and *Italian*, and who might serve him for an interpreter. He would neither take companion, money or guide, for fear of derogating from the laws of spiritual knight-errantry, which obliged a knight to depend absolutely upon providence. He said to those who cautioned him against the dangers to which a blind confidence exposed his life, that no one had any occasion to exercise the virtue of religion but when he was without provision. Thus regarding the prudent counsels he received as the temptations of the evil spirit, he departed alone from *Manreze*, after having staid there more than ten months.

IGNATIUS being come to *Barcelona*, found a brigantine and a large ship in the port, ready to sail for *Italy*. Impatient to be at *Jerusalem*, he would have embarked in the brigantine, which was to sail first, had he not been hindered by an adventure very happy for him, as we shall see.

A DEVOUT lady, called *Isabella Roselli*, hearing sermon one day, by chance cast her eyes on *Ignatius*, who was seated at the edge of the altar, amidst a crowd of little children. Struck with the novelty of the sight, and the humility of the person, who she doubted

doubted not was a saint. She considered him more attentively, and by the strength of gazing on him with this prepossession, fancied she saw his head invironed with rays of light, and heard a voice, which said to her, *Call him, call him.* She did not, however, call him, either because she would not interrupt the preacher, or that she feared he would look upon her as mad; but she was no sooner returned to her home, than she related the thing to her husband, who immediately sent in search of *Ignatius*, whom they found still in the church. They obliged him to dine with them, and after the repast engaged him in a discourse of devotion, on which he spoke in a manner so sublime, that *Isabel* was no longer astonished at the rays of light she had seen round his head.

IGNATIUS having afterwards declared his design of going to *Italy*, she counselled him not to risque his life in a vessel so weakly built as the brigantine was, but to embark in the great ship. He admitted this counsel as a warning from heaven, and this deference saved his life. For, says *Ribadeneyra*, upon the testimony of the lady *Roselli* herself, who had also related her vision to him, scarce had the brigantine set sail when a furious tempest rising, it was lost in sight
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of *Barcelona*, and all that were on board
perished.

IGNATIUS not caring to engage himself to go in the other vessel until he could be assured the commander would receive him for the love of God, he went therefore to him, and humbly intreated him to grant him his passage for charity. "Very willingly, my friend, said the captain, on condition that you bring with you provisions necessary for your voyage." "Far be that from me, replied *Ignatius*, I am entirely under the care of providence, and am willing at all times to depend upon it for my immediate support. I have no occasion for any thing but a little bit of bread, which I'll beg from the people in the ship." "But, interrupted the captain, laughing, if all we who are in the ship should abandon ourselves like you to the care of providence, and embark without taking any provisions with us, tell me, I pray you, where you would find bread to beg?" "I know nothing of that, replied *Ignatius*; but I well know, that if providence takes care of the nourishment of the vilest insects, it will never fail those who confide in it." "Since your faith is so great, replied the captain, you may as easily pass the sea without a ship as without victuals; for I positively declare

declare to you, that I will not receive you into mine without you bring your provisions with you.

THIS condition appeared the more hard to *Ignatius*, as he had never read in books of chivalry, or in the legend, that any knight, either temporal or spiritual, made the smallest provision for himself when he embarked on the longest voyages; on the contrary, he remembered to have read in the life of *Francis d'Assise*, that this spiritual *Amadis* had twice made a voyage to *Asia*, and once to *Afric*, without taking any care for his own subsistence, or that of his companions.

To free himself from this embarrassment, he had recourse to his ordinary expedient, and consulted his confessor. His reverence ordered him to accept of the condition the captain imposed upon him; and he did that in obedience which he would never have done in consequence of reason. He then went from door to door to beg a morsel of bread, and the scraps which he gathered by these means composed his provisions. The money which some devotees obliged him, in spite of himself, to take, he was resolved not to carry with him, and meeting with no poor people to whom he might give it, he left it on the sea-side for the first who found it.

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THIS voyage was very dangerous but not long; a violent wind carried the ship in five days to the port of *Gayeta*. *Ignatius* retired in the night to the stable of an inn, where he put an end to an adventure which would have done honour to the famous *Don Quixote*, who greatly loved to redress injuries.

SCARCE had he begun to sleep in one side of the stable, when he heard a plaintive voice crying from the other; he rose immediately, and, armed with his staff, ran to the place from whence he heard the voice come, and demanded the cause. "Help me, good Sir, cried a young girl, in the name of the Virgin *Mary*, take me out of the hands of these insolent soldiers, who are going to offer me violence." "Rogues that you are, cried our knight, in a tone of voice which inspired terror, let the girl go this instant, or I will hang you." The soldiers, who could not see by the light of a little lamp, which stood a good way off, who it was that spoke so imperiously to them, took him for an officer of the army, and favoured by the obscurity of the place, stole off, leaving the girl alone in the stable with her deliverer.

HE went from *Gayeta* early in the morning, and took the rout to *Rome* alone on foot, fasting every day, and begging as he went. He arrived there on *Palm Sunday*, and
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set out for *Venice* eight days after *Easter*, having kissed the feet of the Pope, who was the good *Adrian* the sixth, and received his holiness's benediction for the pilgrimage of *Jerusalem*.

SOME *Spaniards* offered him seven or eight crowns, telling him he would be to blame to go without money into a country of which he knew not the language, and which was infected with the plague; the fear of passing in their opinion for a madman, prevailed on him to accept the money they presented him with: but the scruple he had of violating his confidence in providence, if he kept it, made him give it to the first poor people he met.

HE reduced himself by this to extreme necessity, for he scarce found any thing in the villages, and he could not enter the city because of the contagious disease: his pale and thin visage made him be thought infected by the keepers of the gates, and he was even constrained to sleep with no other covering than the sky. But the divine consolations he believed himself to have received while he was thus deprived of all human succours, enabled him to support his fatigues with courage.

ONE time, when his strength was exhausted, being alone during the night in a desert plain, he imagined he saw Jesus

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Christ,

Christ, who strengthened him, and promised him he should enter *Padua* and *Venice*. Immediately he continued his travel with a vigour, which appeared to him supernatural. He found no obstacle at the gates, and taking advantage of the little vigilance of the guards, he entered without being perceived by them.

He lived at *Venice* as he had done every where else, upon the alms which he sought from door to door; and not knowing where to rest in the night, he passed it under the porch of St. *Mark's* palace, from whence he was driven at last in the following manner: *Mark Antonio Trevisan*, who was then a senator of the republic, and afterwards raised to the supreme dignity, a man so extremely devout that he always wore a hair shirt, then lodged in this palace, near the place where *Ignatius* used to retire; he heard in his sleep a voice which seem'd to come from that side, and said to him, "Art thou not ashamed to sleep softly in a voluptuous and magnificent bed, while my servant lies hardly upon the pavement, under the porch of thy palace."

THE senator rising immediately, went himself to seek the person marked out by the voice, and finding *Ignatius*, conducted him to his own apartment, where he treated him as a man sent by God. But *Ignatius*, who loved not much grandeur, quitted the
palace

palace of *Trevisan* the next day, and went to lodge with a merchant of *Biscay*, who knew him. The only favour he asked of the devout senator was to be introduced by his assistance to the Doge. *

THE senator granted his request, and having procured him an audience of the Doge, he obtained permission to embark in a man of war which was ready to sail for the isle of *Cyprus*, whither the Republic was going to send a new governor. This was the only way *Ignatius* had to get to *Jerusalem*, for the ship destined to carry the pilgrims thither was gone some time before, and never went but once a year.

As the voyage to *Palestine* was thought very dangerous, his friends counselled him to wait for a better opportunity, but nothing could stop him. They represented to him, that since the siege of *Rhodes*, of which *Solyman* had made himself master the preceding year, the *Turks* ran over all the *Syrian* Seas, and that the fear of slavery had obliged many of the pilgrims to return with the *Venetians*. All this did not shake the resolution of *Ignatius*, whose confidence in providence was so great, that he said to those who sought to retain him by intimidating

* *Andrew Gritting,*

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him, "that if he could not get a ship to go in, he would pass the sea upon a plank."

BEFORE his departure he was seized with a violent fever, and though he took physic the day they set sail, he would go on board contrary to the advice of his physicians, who menaced him with certain death if he embarked that day. But, far from dying, he grew better, and the sea-sickness entirely cured him of his fever.

THE irreligious life of the *Italians* in the galley irritated our holy knight. He gave them severe reprimands, which at first served only for their diversion; but he returned so often and so vigorously to the charge, that being tired of his uneasy menaces, they resolved to gain a desert isle, and there to leave this troublesome censor. They had already approached near the place where they intended to make him disembark, when a furious wind rising, drove back the galley; and this same wind which hindered their plot carried them in a few hours to the isle of *Cyprus*.

IN this port *Ignatius* found a ship full of pilgrims ready to sail, and which seemed only to have waited for him to weigh anchor. He entered it immediately, and in forty-eight days sail from his departure from *Venice*, arrived at the port of *Jaffa*, the last day

day of *August*, in the year 1483. From thence he took the way to *Jerusalem* by land, and came there the 4th day of *September* with the caravan of pilgrims. Here he presently visited the holy places; and as he had a very strong imagination, it represented to him, in so lively a manner, what had passed in these places fifteen hundred years before, that he fancied he saw our Lord born in the cavern at *Bethlehem*, teaching in the temple, praying in the garden of olives, and dying upon mount *Calvary*.

AFTER having satisfied his devout curiosity, he remembered that he was also come into *Palestine* to labour for the conversion of the *Mahometans*. The strong persuasion he had that he was called to this ministry by a celestial vocation, would not permit him to think of the difficulties there would be in so great an enterprise.

HE neither knew the language nor the religion of those whom he designed to convert, nor even his own religion which he came to preach to them. Drawn thither by his enthusiasm, and depending upon supernatural assistances, he fancied he already saw the infidels, vanquished by the irresistible efficacy of his miraculous preaching, renouncing their *Mahomet*, ranging themselves in crouds under the standard of the cross,

and submitting themselves with all humility to the holy see. His imagination being filled with this agreeable idea, he burnt with impatience to go and signalize his zeal among the *Turks*; and to be better qualified to give them instruction, he resolved to fix his stay at *Jerusalem*.

For this purpose he went to find the guardian of the religious of *St. Francis*, who had a convent in this city. After having given them the letters of recommendation which he had brought from *Italy*, without telling them his intention, he intreated them to permit him to stay in the holy land, assuring them that he would be no charge to them, and that all the favour he would ask was, that they would be pleased to direct his conscience. The guardian, without repulsing him, sent him to the provincial, whom he expected at *Bethlehem*, and who arrived a few days afterwards.

THE provincial no sooner cast his eyes upon the sorrowful figure of our knight, than he advised him to return to *Europe*. "What can you do here, (said he to him) the alms are so small that we ourselves have trouble enough to live even poorly upon those we receive; besides, (added he) there is no safety in *Palestine* for pilgrims, and it is but a few days since some of them, who were indiscreet enough to go out of the

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the walls of the city, have had the misfortune to be made slaves, and others have been killed.

“ I fear neither hunger nor servitude, nor impalement itself, replied *Ignatius* : I am come into the holy land by an internal impulse, which was divinely given, and I would have your reverence know, continued he, that nothing but an express order from God shall oblige me to go out of it. You shall go out of it then to-morrow, resumed the provincial, with an air and tone of papal authority ; for you cannot resist me without resisting God : I have power, as the vicar of Jesus Christ, to send back whom I please among the pilgrims, and even to excommunicate those who are not willing to obey me : if you doubt this, I will fetch the bull of his holiness, that you may be convinced by your own eyes of what I tell you. You need not take this trouble, most reverend father, replied *Ignatius* humbly, I believe you upon your word, and will obey you as God himself, since his lieutenant on earth has given you power to command me.”

BEFORE he quitted *Palestine*, he had an inclination to see again the stone on which they believed our Lord left the print of his feet when he ascended up to heaven. For this purpose he stole privately away, ran

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alone to the mount of olives, and instead of money gave his penknife to the guard, for which he obtained permission to see this sacred stone, and to contemplate it at his ease. From thence he went to *Bethphage*, which is hard by; but remembering that he had not observed which part of the world the print of the right foot looked towards, nor what side the left was turned to, he went back with quick steps to satisfy himself on a point so essential. A little pair of scissors, which by good luck he had about him, was his passport for entering a second time, and this small present procured him the satisfaction of seeing what he desired.

MEAN time the Franciscans knowing the holy ramble of the *Spanish* pilgrim, and apprehending that some misfortune would happen to him, sent a servant of the convent after him, an *Armenian* by birth, and one known to the *Turks*. This servant meeting him as he descended from the mountain, flew into a violent passion with him, menaced him with his stick, and seizing him harshly by the arm, dragged him by force to the monastery. But *Ignatius*, who in this moment believed he saw Jesus Christ in the air shining with glory, leading the way and directing him as a guide, was so much inflamed with the joy this vision gave him, that

that he would not have felt him though he had dislocated his arm.

PERSUADED that God was not willing he should remain long at *Jerusalem*, though he believed he came there by his order, he disposed himself to leave it in *November*. The winter, which was very hard this year, began early, and the cold already began to pinch him sharply. Our knight had guarded himself against it with nothing but a poor pair of stuff drawers, which scarce covered his thighs, a black waistcoat full of holes in the back, and a tater'd coat. Although there fell great flakes of snow, and the earth was all covered with it, it did not prevent him, ill drest as he was, to go on foot to the port of *Jaffa*, where he embarked in a ship which was returning to the isle of *Cyprus*.

WHEN he arrived at this island, he found three vessels in the port ready to sail for the coast of *Italy*. One was a *Turkish* saick, the other a large *Venetian* ship, and the third a poor little barque very ill equipped. The Pilgrims who were with him, intreated the *Venetian* captain to receive him in his ship for charity; and to prevail upon him the more, told him he was a saint. "If he is a saint, as you say, replied the captain (who had read the lives of the fathers of the desarts) he has no occasion for a ship, he may cast

D 5 himself

himself into the sea, and the waves will not fail to carry him safe, as they once did *St. Ammer*, and some other saints-errant."

Ignatius not being able to procure a passage in the *Venetian* vessel was forced to ask one in the little bark, the owner of which had the goodness to receive him for the love of God.

THE three vessels set sail together, and had a favourable wind at first: but all of a sudden the weather changed, and there arose so terrible a tempest that the sack perished with all the people, the *Venetian* vessel dashed against the rocks, and the crew could hardly save themselves and put their passengers on shore; but the bark which carried *Ignatius* resisted the storm, and amidst a thousand dangers gained a port in *Apulia*. From hence he put to sea again, and arrived happily at *Venice*, after a voyage of more than two months. 'Twas thus, says *Daniel Bartoli*, that the covetous captain learnt to his cost, that no one shall railly with impunity the friends of God; and that the weakest barks in which they are, resist a tempest better than the strongest vessels which carry the mockers of saints.

IGNATIUS seeing the great design he had formed of converting the *Mahometans* was prevented, found himself much embarrassed about what he ought to undertake,

take. After turning his thoughts on all sides, he determined at last to labour for the reformation of sinners and the instruction of the ignorant.

HITHERTO he had believed that the profound knowledge of all the mysteries which he imagined to have been given him by the extraordinary light of divine illuminations, was sufficient for any undertaking. Indeed, if, as one of his historians assures us, the truths of the faith were before his eyes with so much clearness, that not only they had nothing of obscurity to him, but he was able even to make others conceive them also: if he spoke of the ineffable mystery of the Trinity in language so sublime that the most learned admired, and the simplest could understand; what could hinder him from exercising the evangelical ministry with success? assuredly nothing. Nevertheless, whether he suspected his visions, or he had found by experience men were not willing to believe them upon his word; or he apprehended he should never be permitted to teach religion publicly till he had studied in the universities; he resolved to join to his imagined supernatural lights the human sciences, which he knew not yet in their first principles. 'Twas this which made him take up the design of returning to *Barcelona*, where he had some acquaintance with those

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those who had a public grammar-school there, and where he hoped to find alms enough to subsist him during his studies. Thus, without stopping at *Venice*, he took the road to *Barcelona* in the middle of winter, clad as I have already mentioned, except that he covered his breast with a bit of coarse cloth, which the *Spanish* merchant, to whom he was known, presented him with. The same person obliged him also to take five or six crowns which he would not have accepted but out of pure complaisance, and with an intention to give them away the first opportunity. He did not go far before he found one: for coming to *Ferrara*, a city about two days journey from *Venice*, he went immediately to the great church, where he had scarce began his prayers, when a poor man came and held out his hand; *Ignatius* gave him a crown: the beggar astonished at receiving so great an alms from a man as ill dressed as himself, went and related his adventure to his comrades, and *Ignatius* in a moment found himself surrounded with all the beggars in the city: he denied none of them while he had any thing to give; and his prayer being finished he came out of the church, the beggars following him; who seeing him that had so liberally assisted them, asking alms for himself, cried out after him, the saint! the saint!

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HE left *Ferrara* to go to *Genoa*, by way of *Lombardy*. The war being then kindled between *France* and *Spain*, the two armies which possessed all the country, rendered the ways very dangerous. He disdained to take a bye path, tho' directed to one in which there was no danger ; but persuaded that all his steps were under the immediate direction of a particular providence, he followed the great road notwithstanding all they could say to him. This chimerical idea made him walk without fear thro' the midst of the enemy's army ; but he did not go very far without having occasion to know he was not always to transgress the common laws of prudence with impunity.

APPROACHING a village where the *Spaniards* were, he was taken by some of the soldiers who were scouts ; his dress and demure look made them believe he was a spy disguised in the habit of a beggar ; they interrogated him, and not being able to draw a word from him, stripped him of his cloaths and brought him naked to his shirt to their commander.

ALTHOUGH since he had embraced spiritual knight-errantry, he gave no title of honour to any one whatsoever, and called persons of the first quality only by their names, as the quakers do at present ; he deliberated however with himself, if he had not better

on this occasion use some complaisance in his behaviour than follow his ordinary custom. After having well thought of it, he took these doubts which were come upon him, as the suggestions of the evil spirit, and therefore resolved to pay no respect to the commander ; he carried his incivility so far, as not even to uncover himself before him, but continued immoveable in his presence with his hat upon his head. When they asked him his name, his country, his profession, and the place from whence he came, he answered only with silence ; but when they proceeded to demand if he was not a spy, then he opened his mouth to say, No, which was the only word they could get from him.

THE captain, who found nothing but madness in him, was displeased with his people for having brought him such an idiot. Take this fool away, said he to them in a passion, give him his cloaths and let him go where he will. The soldiers obeyed ; but before they let him go they revenged themselves upon him for the folly they had been guilty of in taking him for a spy, by laying so many blows upon him that he had no occasion to discipline himself that day.

PURSuing his way, he fell three days after into the *French* quarters ; the officer to whom he was carried was a Biscayan, who judging by the poor appearance of our knight:

knight that he had nothing to fear from him, and having understood that he was of the province of *Guipuscoa*, released him immediately, and gave orders to let him pass without suffering any insult.

On his arrival at *Genoa* he found a vessel going to *Spain*, in which he embarked with the less difficulty as *Don Rodrigo de Portundo*, general of the *Spanish* galleys, who was of the same country and acquainted with him, ordered the captain to take him gratis on board.

THE vessel was a long time pursued by pirates, but its lightness saved them from their pursuers, and by crowding their sails they gained the port of *Barcelona*.

As soon as *Ignatius* had set his foot on land he went to see *Ferome Ardeball*, who taught Grammar publicly, and obtained the favour of being received gratis into the number of his scholars; he went also to see *Isabella Roselli*, who promised him all sort of assistance.

He was three and thirty years of age when he began to learn the first principles of the *Latin* language; a study little suited to his age! but it was necessary for becoming what he proposed. This consideration made him vanquish the disgust and repugnance that a man so much given to pious contemplation must necessarily suffer from the little

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little punctilios of Grammar. He overcame courageously enough the difficulties of declension; but when he was come to the verbs, the devil, who waited there to stop him short, suggested to him such tender sentiments for God, that the new scholar passed all the time of his study in devout aspirations; instead of conjugating the verb *amo*, he made the acts of love, "*I love you, O my God, said he, you love me,*" and he could get no farther. The little progress he made discovered to him the artifice of the evil spirit; and not doubting but these acts of divine love were a snare which he had laid to interrupt his studies, far from leaving the conjugations to devote himself to God, he quitted God to devote himself to the conjugations.

BUT to make the devil lose all hope, he took *Ardeball* into the church of *St. Mary of the sea*, threw himself upon his knees before him, and after having made a vow at the foot of the altar, to continue his studies without interruption during two intire years, he most humbly intreated his master to give him a lesson every day, and if he did not learn it well to punish him like one of the least of his scholars. The devil, vanquished by this act of humiliation, quitted our knight, and importuned him no more with divine illuminations.

As soon as he began to know a little *Latin*, they recommended to him *the Christian Soldier of Erasmus*, as the properest book to make him learn the elegance of that language, and to inspire him at the same time with the most solid piety. He read it accordingly; but finding the more he read the fewer visions he had, he conceived so great a hatred against the author, that when he was general of the society he forbade those of his order to read the works of this great man, which will not be lost while there are any men of true learning in the world.

If *Ignatius* had not at *Barcelona* such frequent illuminations as at *Manreze*, in return he there put an end to a very difficult adventure. There was without the town, between the new gate and the gate of *St. Daniel*, a convent of Dominican Nuns, called the Monastery of Angels; a name which little suited the nuns. This convent, consecrated to chastity, they made a place of public prostitution, and under the appearance of Vestals, lived in reality like priestesses of *Venus*. The knight of the Virgin had too much zeal to leave these daughters of *St. Dominique* in their licentiousness; he undertook to draw them from it, and this was the method which he took:

He went into the church of their monastery, and performed before their eyes many exterior

exterior acts of devotion. His long prayers, his frequent communions, his tears, his sighs, his groans, procured him after some weeks, the esteem of these religious, and inspired them with a curiosity to converse with him. The first visit passed without any reproof from him. The excellence of their profession, the purity, the fidelity, and other duties which they exacted from themselves, were the only subjects of conversation. Charmed with the sweetness of his manners, they desired to see him often: he continued his visits, and having by little and little gained their esteem, he began to represent to them the dishonour they did to their divine spouse in violating that faith which they had vowed to him at the foot of his altar; he made them fear the vengeance of this divine spouse, who was extremely jealous, and exhorted them so pathetically to stop, by a speedy return to their duty, the thunder already prepared to crush them, that they broke off immediately all commerce with men.

THEIR gallants having heard that it was by the advice of *Ignatius*, that the door of their monastery was shut, they forbid him on pain of the bastinado ever to go there again: he despised their menaces, and they kept their word. But finding, notwithstanding, that he always continued his exhortations, they resolved

solved to assassinate him. One day, when he was returning from the monastery of the Angels, with a priest named *Moses Pujalto*, who had assisted him in bringing back the nuns to their duty, two Moorish slaves attacked them near the gate of St. *Daniel*, and knocked them down with their clubs.

THE priest died a few days after, and *Ignatius*, who was left for dead upon the place, would have perished also, if a miller had not passed that way by chance, who had the charity to place him upon his mule and conduct him to the house of *Agnes Pascal*, a devout woman, with whom he lodged. He was so weak when he was brought there, that they believed every moment he was departing. His life was despaired of a whole month; but against all expectation he recovered his health after fifty-three days of sickness and pain.

WHEN he was able to walk he would have returned to the monastery of the Angels, to confirm the nuns in the good resolutions he had made them take; and when they said to him, that to go there was to expose himself to a second assassination, "What a blessing will it be to me, replied he, to die for the salvation of my neighbour." This blessing, however, was not granted him, for his assassins fearing the pursuits of justice, asked his pardon, and were reconciled to him.

AFTER

AFTER having accomplished his vow of studying grammar two years, he resolved, though he had learned but very little *Latin*, to go through a course of philosophy and theology at the university of *Alcala de Henares*, just founded by cardinal *Ximenes*. As he had formed the design at *Manreze* of instituting an order of spiritual knight-errantry, the plan of which he said was shewn him in the meditation of two standards, he had gained some disciples, who, charmed with his manner of living, attempted to imitate him in all things. These disciples would have followed him, but he durst not take them with him, for fear of the inquisition at *Toledo*, which was very suspicious, and apt to take umbrage; he contented himself therefore with three, one of whom was named *Caliste*, the other *Artiaga*, and the third *Cazeres*. He chose a fourth from the hospital of *Alcala*, whither he had retired when he first arrived: This was a young *Frenchman* named *John*, who having been wounded in a particular quarrel as he was passing by this city, at the request of Don *Martin de Cordova*, viceroy of *Navarre*, to whom he was page, was carried to the hospital to be cured of his wounds. *Ignatius* inspired him with so great a disgust for the court, and so much fondness for spiritual knight-errantry, that he preferred this

this painful profession to the service of the viceroy.

THE master and his disciples were cloathed in the same fashion; they wore a long jacket of grey serge, with a hat of the same colour; and this they named the habit of serge. They lived upon alms, but did not dwell all together. The disciples were lodged by charity, two in one place, two in another, and *Ignatius* remained in the hospital, from whence he came out every day to beg his bread.

THIS life of a beggar, which he took without necessity, made him be despised by wise men, and he sometimes drew upon himself bitter reproaches from them. A priest, among others, who was a great enemy to professed mendicants, having met him one day in the street, asking alms, treated him with great roughness, giving him many reproaches and curses; but the superior of the hospital of *Arteganes*, being a witness of the patience with which our knight suffered these outrages, took pity on him, and brought him to his hospital, where he gave him a chamber to lie in.

THIS chamber was never made use of, no person daring to sleep in it, because it was said to be haunted with spirits. *Ignatius*, who feared not the devil himself, was overjoyed to meet with so fine an occasion of
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signalizing his courage. The first night he heard a frightful noise, which is generally the fore-runner of spirits. They appeared to him under such hideous forms, that all intrepid as he was, he could not help being terrified; but being recovered from his first fears, he cast himself on his knees, with this apostrophe, "If God, said he to them, has given you power to hurt me, behold me ready to suffer all the mischief you are permitted to do me; but if he has not given you that power, retire, evil creatures, and cease to trouble my repose." At these words the spectres disappeared, and never returned to that chamber any more, where they were wont to keep their horrible sabbath.

THE keeper of the hospital, charmed with the defeat of these formidable phantoms, to recompense *Ignatius* for the victory he had obtained over them, promised him, besides the lodging he had already given him, to furnish him with victuals and whatever would be necessary for his studies. This did not hinder our knight from begging in his usual way, not only that he might not lose the habit of holy beggary, but that with the alms he received he might help bashful poor, and those whose infirmities prevented them from going out to seek their bread.

AFTER

AFTER thanking the superior of the hospital of *Anteganes* for his charity, *Ignatius* put himself in a condition to go and take lessons from the professors of the university, who there explained the logic of *Dominick de Soto*, the physics of *Albert* the great, and the theology of *Peter Lombard*, surnamed the master of sentences. He took these three lessons one after another; but these different sciences, that he heaped disorderly in his head, without understanding them, made so much confusion, that all his labour ended in total ignorance.

DISGUSTED with the little progress he made in his studies, he quitted *Aristotle* and *St. Thomas*, and with his four disciples, as ignorant as himself, betook himself to catechizing children, making exhortations to debauched scholars, and teaching the christian doctrine to poor people.

THE noise which this novelty made in the city soon came to the ears of the inquisitors of *Toledo*, who came to *Alcala* to be informed of the doctrine of the men of sackcloth, whom they suspected to be of the sect of the illuminati, which they some time before had condemned in *Spain*; but finding so much ignorance in them, they left the affair in the hand of *John Rodrigue Figuereas*, grand vicar of *Alcala*, and returned to *Toledo*.

THE grand vicar, after having interrogated them, and informed himself of their manners, sent them away absolved, forbidding them only to wear cloaths of the same colour.

IGNATIUS was no sooner got out of this affair than they brought him into another, from which he had more trouble to extricate himself. Among the devotees who put themselves under his direction, there were two ladies of quality, a mother and her daughter, both widows. The mother was called *Marie de Vado*, and the daughter *Louisa Velasquez*: they had been much given to the pleasures of life, particularly the daughter, whose beauty made her be more sought after. The wonders of the life-errant of our knight, which he had without doubt mentioned while he was there, inspired them with a desire of sanctifying themselves by the same way. They resolved, after his example, to dress themselves like beggars, to go over all *Spain* begging their bread, take up their lodgings in hospitals, and visit the miraculous images.

THEY did not doubt but *Ignatius* would approve of so holy an enterprize, and in this confidence they went to communicate their purpose to him. "Go, said he to them, you are mad; do you imagine that holiness
consists

consists in running about the world. Believe me, added he, abandon this extravagant design, and since God has given you riches, employ yourselves in relieving the poor, and go not madly to counterfeit them by an affected beggary; live like persons of good sense, and regulate your virtue by your condition."

"WHY then, replied the lady *de Vado*, the more surprized at this reproof as she had expected to have had his praises, why then have you, who are of an illustrious family, run over the world disguised like a beggar? Why do you still lodge in an hospital? Why, in short, continue to live upon alms, and not regulate your virtue by your condition? Pray, pursued she, teach us how the same actions are wise and holy when you perform them, and become follies when we undertake to do them?" Without an evident inspiration from the Holy Ghost, replied *Ignatius*, it is madness to follow these extraordinary ways." Well, replied the devotee, cease then to blame us, for I assure you we have been inspired with this design in the same manner that you have with that of making yourself a knight of the Virgin, and running through the world in this quality. You cannot refuse to believe us upon our word, since we have believed you upon yours. Mean time, if you continue obsti-

nate to condemn us, take care that in condemning us you do not condemn yourself."

HE insinuated to them, that they might easily take the illusions of a wandering imagination for divine inspirations, and represented to them the dangers to which a life-errant would be exposed. They continued firm in their resolutions: They indeed quitted the thoughts of travelling over the provinces; but they believed they could not in conscience dispense with themselves from making at least the pilgrimage of our lady of *Guadaloupe*, and that of *St. Suaine de Jaen*, two acts of devotion most celebrated in *Spain*, the one in *New Castile*, the other in *Andalusia*.

THEY set out one fair morning for this fine expedition, without saying any thing to any person, and went all their way on foot, dressed like poor pilgrims, asking charity.

WHEN this action was known, every one accused *Ignatius* with being the cause of it. Among others, *Dr. Cirol*, professor of divinity, and a particular friend of these ladies complain'd, that a fanatick was suffer'd to meddle with the direction of consciences, and boldly insisted, that the director who made his devotees commit such follies, deserved to be shut up.

THE grand vicar, upon the doctor's complaint, put *Ignatius* into prison, and let him pass

pass five days there before he came to interrogate him.

THE interrogation turn'd upon the lady-errants. *Ignatius* confessed that he directed them; but declared at the same time, that very far from advising the folly they had committed, he, on the contrary, dissuaded them from it as much as he was able.

WHILE they were making the strictest enquiries to come at the truth, the spiritual adventurers returned after forty days. Being interrogated legally, they confirm'd what *Ignatius* had said. In this manner he was cleared upon this article, and afterwards enlarged by a public sentence, given the first of *June*, 1527.

THIS sentence contained two Heads; the one, that he and his companions should take the common habit of scholars; the other, that as they were not divines, they should abstain from explaining the mysteries of religion to the people, until they had studied divinity four years, and that under pain of excommunication and banishment.

THIS prohibition was a stroke of thunder to *Ignatius*; it reduced him to the humble condition of a scholar, and made him pass for a rash man, who, without any knowledge of religion, had taken upon him to teach it.

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HE was so sensibly affected with this affront that he took a resolution to leave the place, and retire to *Salamanca* with his disciples, there to continue his studies. He was no sooner arrived there than he forgot he was come to study; he set himself to preach as he had done at *Alcala*. The people, who are easily taken with a pious and mortified countenance, ran in crouds to hear him. There were even some ladies of quality who were willing to be his penitents; but the learned men thought it very strange that a simple layman, without science, and without character, should set up for a doctor and director in a city where they had so many ministers and learned religious continually employ'd in the instruction of the people.

THE friars, preachers of the convent of *St. Stephen*, entering into these sentiments, were resolved thoroughly to examine this person. *Ignatius's* confessor was a religious of this monastery: This religious invited him one day to dine with the superior, who was a pious and learned man. He came there with *Calistus*, and after dinner, the superior, accompanied with the confessor and another monk, brought *Ignatius* and his disciple into a private chapel. The superior beginning the conversation, and turning towards *Ignatius*, "I am very much rejoiced,"
said

said he, with a chearful countenance, that, after the example of the apostles, you go into all places, teaching men the way to heaven, and I assure you all our brethren are no less rejoiced than me ; but I would fain know, added he, to what science you have most applied yourself?" " We have studied but very little, replied *Ignatius* ingenuously, and all our learning amounts to a little knowledge of the grammar." How come you then to set up for a preacher? said the superior." " We do not preach, answer'd *Ignatius*, we only discourse of religion when any occasion offers." " Pray, said the superior, what subjects do you treat of in your discourse?" " We speak of the beauty of virtue and the ugliness of vice, replied *Ignatius*, and we endeavour to inspire those who hear us, with love for the one, and horror for the other." " What, interrupted the superior, you confess yourself that you are ignorant, and nevertheless you have the presumption to treat of virtues and vices, which they can only speak well upon who are philosophers or divines! It must necessarily be then, that the things which you say proceed from some knowledge you have acquired by study, or else you are divinely inspired. You confess that you have no other letters than a little grammar; you then have supernatural learning,

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and you would do me a pleasure, continued he, with a tone of raillery, to tell me, if it is after a fast, or after you have eaten sufficiently, that you have your revelations, what they are, how you know them to come from God, and how you are able to prove to others, to me, for example, what we are not willing to believe without proofs, that you are divinely inspir'd?

IGNATIUS discourag'd with the troublesome questions put to him, and some pressing instances which the superior made him, to oblige him to reply categorically thereto, resolved therefore not to answer to them. "'Tis enough, reverend father, said he to him, do not push things too far, I will say nothing more till my spiritual superiors, to whom I owe obedience, shall command me to speak." "But I will force you to speak, replied the superior, for your affected silence renders you but too much suspected of fanaticism or imposture, like those quacks who make a trade of practising physick in public places where they are unknown, but dare not speak before an able physician for fear of discovering their ignorance: You are silent before divines, and stun with your prating the ignorant rabble, always disposed to take for divine the extravagant imaginations of the first visionary who comes to put them off
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with a devout countenance, and expressions lively and affecting." Then looking upon *Calistus*, who was very grotesquely dressed, "One need only see you, added he, to judge that you are true fanatics."

THIS companion of *Ignatius* coming to *Salamanca*, had met with a pilgrim extremely ragged, to whom he had given his new cloaths, and then he put on his garb, which consisted of an ugly jacket, too short for him, and a hat quite worn out, of an enormous size, which made him the most burlesque figure in the world. He confessed the thing; but the superior neither content with the reply of *Calistus*, nor the silence of *Ignatius*, made them be both conducted to a cell, where they lock'd them up.

THREE days after they were taken to prison by the order of *Frias*, grand vicar to the bishop of *Salamanca*; they put them into an old infected chamber, and tied them together by the feet with an iron chain three yards long. They passed the night singing of hymns, and rejoicing in the happiness they had of suffering in a cause they believed as good as that for which the holy apostles had been persecuted by the pharisees of their time.

THE next day many devout persons went to visit *Ignatius*, and supplied him plentifully with whatever he had occasion for.

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In return for their charity he conversed with them upon the ugliness of vice, the emptiness of worldly greatness, the treasures of joy concealed under the pains of sufferings, and the transports which he tasted in chains.

MEAN time *Frias* came to interrogate the prisoners. *Ignatius* gave into his hands the book of spiritual exercises, and told him where his three other disciples lodged, that they might also interrogate them. They sent for them immediately, and they were put into separate places, where they could have no communication with their master, nor with *Calistus*.

THE grand vicar himself read the book of exercises, and gave it afterwards to three doctors to read. After having all four examined it, they order'd *Ignatius* to be brought before them, and told him they found it very strange, that being unlearned, as he confessed himself, he had the presumption, at the beginning of his exercises, to point out the difference between mortal sin and venial sin. To which he replied, he submitted his book to their judgment.

AT last, after two and twenty days of imprisonment, the master and his disciples were cited before the judges to hear their sentence. They found them neither guilty of heresy or depravation of manners, and permitted them to catechise, but forbid them

them to touch upon so delicate a point as the distinction between mortal and venial sin, 'till they had studied divinity four years.

IGNATIUS, who well saw that he could not speak of the deformity of sin without acting contrary to this prohibition, resolved to quit the ugrateful *Salamanca*, and even to go out of *Spain*, where the ecclesiastic superiors treated his illuminations so ill. He imagined himself at the same time to feel a strong inspiration to go into *France*, to recommence his studies in the university of *Paris*, as celebrated then as it is at this day.

HE communicated his design to his companions, who, disgusted with the miserable life they had led with him, refused to follow him. Thus he went away alone on foot, driving before him an ass loaded with his books, and the treatise which he had composed in the time of his greatest ignorance. Passing by *Barcelona*, he there revisited his friends, and accepted, without any difficulty, the money and bills of exchange which they offer'd him. He began his journey to *France* the end of *December*, in the year 1527. Though there was little safety on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, where the military people exercised a thousand robberies and cruelties upon passengers, he arrived nevertheless at *Paris*,

without any bad adventures the beginning of *February*, in the year 1528.

HE had studied so indifferently, that he was obliged to learn the grammar again at seven and thirty years of age, in the low classes with the little scholars of the college of *Montague*. A misfortune which happened to him in the University, where he lodged with other *Spanish* students, put all his studies into confusion. His fear of wounding the perfect poverty of which he made profession, troubled his conscience so much, that to give it ease he entrusted one of his companions in the same chamber, whom he believed honest, with the money he had brought from *Barcelona*, and he carried it all away with him. This robbery reduced him to the last necessity; he was obliged to retire to St. *James's* hospital, and go about begging his bread.

His poverty, which hinder'd him from studying, did not hinder him from inspiring the young men of his acquaintance with a passion for holy indigence. Three *Spanish* scholars, one of whom was named *Castro*, the other *Peralto*, and the third *Amader*, persuaded by his discourses, that property of goods was hurtful to salvation, sold all they possessed, even to a few books, and having given the money to the poor, took up, like their director, the life of beggars, and retired

retired with him to St. James's Hospital, from whence their friends were not able to force them.

THIS affair made a great noise in the university; two doctors, *Peter Ortiz*, a Spaniard, and *James Gouvea*, a Portuguese, who were acquainted with the scholars, spoke loudly against *Ignatius*, that he was accused to the Inquisitor, *Matthew Ori*, a Dominican, and prior of the great convent in St. James's Street. *Ori* sent immediately to seek him, but he was not to be found.

HE was gone to *Rouen*, where the man who had robb'd him was fallen sick as he was upon the point of embarking for *Spain*. This fugitive had written to him, that without immediate succour he should inevitably perish for want. *Ignatius* had no sooner received this letter than he resolved to set out immediately, fasting, barefoot, without taking any nourishment, not even a draught of water, so that before he came near the place where the miserable man who implored his assistance was, he felt his heart so dejected, and his body so heavy, that he could hardly set one foot before the other. He pursued his way notwithstanding the insupportable weariness that oppress'd him, and ceased not to drag himself along, till he came near *Argenteuil*, a little city about two leagues from *Paris*. But when he had
pass'd

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pals'd the mountain and gained the plain, his heaviness and sorrow left him, and he found himself so light, that he fancy'd he rather flew than walk'd. As soon as he arrived at *Rouen*, he went to see the sick person who had wrote to him: He attended him, begg'd alms for him, and put him into a condition of continuing his journey. When he had seen him on board a vessel ready to sail for *Spain*, he took leave of him and returned hastily to *Paris*, upon advice that the inquisitor was making search after him, and that his absence rendered him suspected.

UPON his arrival, he went and presented himself to the prior of the *Jacobins*, who seeing that all the accusations they enter'd against him were reduced to his having advised a voluntary poverty, which the inquisitor himself profess'd as a state of perfection, far from inflicting the least punishment upon him, he dismiss'd him with great commendations,

MEAN time *Ignatius*, who found very little charity in *Paris*, where the *Spanish* beggars were not loved, follow'd the counsel of a religious mendicant, very expert in the art of begging, to go to *Flanders* during the vacation, to draw some assistance from the merchants of his country, who traded to *Antwerp* and *Brussels*.

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HE acquir'd so much address by the instructions of this religious, that he received alms enough to live upon two years. But not to importune the same persons too much, he went to *England* after some *Spanish* merchants, who were at *London*. At last, by the cunning method he had been taught, he engaged his benefactors of the *Low-Countries* to remit their bounties to him at *Paris*; which, added to those he received from *Barcelona*, were so considerable, that they were sufficient not only for his own maintenance, but also for that of his companions.

BEING now assured of his subsistence, he betook himself again to his studies, which his poverty and travels had interrupted, after having been eighteen months at the college of *Montague*, where he had not been able to study more than six. He went to the college of *St. Barthe*, there to begin his philosophy.

He studied there no better than at *Montague*, but pass'd most part of his time in discoursing to the scholars of the contempt of the world, and of the difficulty he had found to work out his salvation. He cast a great number of them into such an extravagant devotion, that instead of being found at the philosophical disputes, which they held in the college on Sundays and holidays, after
divine

divine service, for the exercise of the young philosophers, they pass'd all these days in practising the spiritual counsels which he gave them.

THE professor, who was called *John Pagna*, found fault with *Ignatius* for debauching his disciples: He reproached him severely, and told him very seriously, that if he continued to turn his scholars from their studies, he should be chastised without mercy. But seeing that he always went on his own way, and infatuated them so much with a fanatic devotion, that many had suddenly quitted their philosophical courses, to take the short jacket, he represented to *Dr. Govea*, principal of *St. Barbara*, the necessity he lay under of punishing exemplarily a scholar, who caused such disorders. "I have, said he, many times advised him of his duty; I have pray'd, conjured, menaced, but advice, prayers and menaces have all failed. If we do not take some new course, he will make monks of all the scholars, and we shall soon see the college empty."

GOVEA, already irritated against *Ignatius* on account of the three *Spaniards*, resolved at last to chastise him publicly.

THEY had a custom in those times to punish the disturbers of learning, by assembling the whole college in a hall

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at the ringing of a bell. The regents came with rods in their hands, and whipp'd the guilty persons in the presence of the scholars. This punishment, which they called the *Hall*, was that which they designed to inflict upon *Ignatius*.

THE affair could not be so secretly kept, but that in some measure it took air. *Ignatius*, who was then out of the college, heard of it by some friends he had there, who advised him not to return, and even to banish himself for ever from it. But instead of following this counsel, he resolved to go and deliver himself up to them, ravish'd at meeting with so fine an occasion to exercise his patience. Mean time, in spite of the pleasure he found in the ignominy prepared for him, his heart failed him by the way, and the bare thought of so infamous a punishment made him tremble. But he soon stifled these natural fears, and, ashamed of his weakness, threw himself courageously into the convent.

ON his appearance they shut the door immediately, rung the bell, the regents armed themselves with rods, and the scholars assembled in the hall where the punishment was to be inflicted. At the sight of these frightful preparations, his mind was agitated with two very different emotions. On one side, he ardently desired to suffer this shameful

ful chastisement, believing it would greatly contribute to his private perfection : On the other, he apprehended it would entirely ruin the spiritual advancement of those whom he imagined he had put in a good way, and the design he had formed of making disciples in that university.

THIS double fear having vanquished his passion for the punishment, he went to find the principal, who was still in his chamber. " That it is not the fear of the whip which brings me here, said he to him, I can easily convince you ; for since I knew what was preparing for me I need not have entered the college, 'tis only for the interest of your salvation that I take this step. Consider, Sir, I beseech you, if it is fit for a person who professes an exemplary piety like you, to suffer a scholar of my age to be dishonoured by so infamous a punishment, when they can charge me with no other guilt than having inspired my disciples with a fervent devotion. Consider, if you shall not be answerable before God for all the ill which will follow the execution of your sentence. As for me, pursued he, I am ready to suffer the punishment to which you have condemned me. The rods of your college, those of the university, all the rods of the universe, or even gibbets, cannot terrify me : On the contrary, I conceive
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it to be the greatest pleasure in the world to suffer for so good a cause. There is one thing only that I apprehend, which is, that the children whom I have persuaded to a religious life, will quit it when they see their spiritual father defamed as the corrupter of youth. Think well of it, dear Sir; I have discharged my own conscience, and leave the burden upon yours. Do with me whatever you please, behold here I am, ready to suffer all."

THE principal, without replying, took him by the hand, and led him into the hall, where all the college was assembled; but when they expected the signal for beginning, *Govea*, who had been moved with the fanatic discourse of *Ignatius*, cast himself at his feet, and asked pardon for having believed the false reports against him. After which rising up, he said aloud, "This is a saint who would have suffer'd with pleasure the most infamous punishment."

OUR knight having thus escaped the whipping, continued his philosophical studies with his usual avocations, which did not hinder him at the end of his course from being received master of arts.

HE afterwards began theology with the *Jacobins*; but instead of applying his mind to this divine science, he employ'd himself in the care of gaining disciples in the university

versity in the place of those who had abandoned him.

THE first upon whom he cast his eyes was *Peter le Fevre*, a poor *Savoyard* boy, of the village of *Villaret*, where, in his childhood he had kept sheep. He was, say they, at six years of age the divine of the village, and, mounted upon a stone, explained to the peasants the mysteries of the faith; but having heard that he ought to know a little *Latin* in order to be a preacher, he quitted his sheep, and went to learn it in a little city near the place of his birth. Afterwards, by the advice of a carthusian friar, his relation, he came to *Paris*, where he followed his studies with good success.

IGNATIUS, who found in him learning, gentleness, docility and zeal, forgot nothing during two years which might inspire him with a taste for spiritual knight-errantry. At last, seeing him in the disposition of mind he wish'd, he told him one day, to engage him to declare himself, that he was resolved to go to the *Levant* when he had finished his studies in divinity, and design'd to employ himself in the conversion of the infidels. *Le Fevre* took fire immediately, and throwing himself about the neck of *Ignatius*, "I will follow you," said he, even to death." Nevertheless, before he set

set out for *Palestine*, he was willing to make a tour to his own country.

DURING his absence our spiritual *Paladin* undertook to gain a young *Navarrese* gentleman that profess'd philosophy at the college of *Beauvais*, named *Francis Xavier*, who, although he was of an illustrious family, was no better provided with the goods of fortune than *Le Fevre*. He had a lively wit, an agreeable humour, an elevated soul, and a great heart, but he was hasty, vain and ambitious. He derided *Ignatius* at first for his maxims, his conduct and fanatic discourses, and, far from hearing him, turned into ridicule the beggarly life he had taken, and which he would vain persuade others to take.

OUR knight dissembled the pain these railleries gave him, and attack'd the young professor by his own foible. He congratulated him on the uncommon talents which nature had lavish'd on him, praised his wit, applauded him in public, and look'd out every where for scholars, which he brought him, that his eminence might be encreased by the number of his pupils, whom he always presented to him in his class, with a panegyric upon their new master.

EXPECTING the effect which these flatteries would have on the spirit of the proud *Xavier*, *Ignatius*, who began to speak *French*, believed

believed he ought to go and exercise his zeal in *Paris*. He display'd it there in a manner so extraordinary, that it well deserves we should here give it some slight touches.

A PERSON of his acquaintance had an affair of gallantry with a woman who lived in a village near *Paris*: What did *Ignatius* do to draw him from this commerce, but go and put himself even to the neck in a pond almost all ice, which was near the place where the gallant was to pass, and when *Ignatius* saw him approach, he cried out aloud, "Where go you, miserable man, hear you not the thunder rolling over your head; see you not the sword of divine justice ready to strike you? Well, pursued he, with a terrible voice, go and satisfy your brutal passion, I will suffer here for you 'till the anger of heaven be appeased. The gallant, struck with the singularity of the action, returned back immediately, and promised to change his life.

IGNATIUS fired with the success of this extravagant method, told some of those who did not approve of it, that to gain souls to God, he would make no difficulty of running through the streets barefoot, his head loaded with horns, and clad in the most ridiculous, or even infamous dress.

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HE made use of another stratagem with regard to a monk, whom he wanted to recover from libertinism. He went one Sunday to find him, and feigning to have a desire of quieting his conscience, made him a general confession. As he had tears at command, he shed them in such great abundance while he accused himself for the disorders of his youth, that the confessor inwardly reproaching himself for his own debauches and insensibility, put himself, before the feigned confession had finished, under the direction of the counterfeited penitent. *Ignatius* made him pass through the spiritual exercises, and this divine balm, infinitely more excellent than that of *Pierabras* for the cure of wounded bodies, perfectly consolidated those in the soul of the libertine monk.

GOING one day to see an ecclesiastic, whom he desired to engage in spiritual errantry, he found him playing at billiards. This was a doctor of divinity: his manners regular, but his devotion confined to the common practices of piety; he invited *Ignatius* to play, who, excusing himself upon his not understanding the game, "O you will learn it as we play," replied the doctor, who redoubled his instances, and press'd him so strongly, that *Ignatius* fearing to displease him, and by that means to lose an opportunity

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opportunity of succeeding in the design which he had formed, yielded at last to his importunities. “But what shall we play for, said he pleasantly to the doctor, it does not become a beggar, like me, to play for money, and there is no pleasure in playing for nothing. I will tell you what is just come into my head: if I lose, I will serve you a whole month, and do exactly whatever you shall command me, and if you lose, I will require you only to do one thing which I will tell you.” The doctor, who was desirous of diverting himself, accepted the condition. They play’d, and our knight, who had never touch’d a billiard before, won the game. The doctor finding something supernatural in it, submitted without hesitation to the law he had imposed on himself of obeying *Ignatius*. He perform’d, under his directions, the spiritual exercises during a-month, and became a man of complete interior piety.

ANOTHER time *Ignatius* conversing with one of his companions in his chamber, he saw a man passing through the street almost naked. By his wild looks he imagined this man was going to murder himself, and willing to snatch him from his despair, he conceived this device: “Dress yourself, said he to his companion, like that miserable wretch, follow him step by step,
feign

feign to have the same sentiments with him, and when you have play'd your part, I will come in and play mine."

THE companion put on immediately a habit all ragged, run after his man, and follow'd him even to the place which this unfortunate man had chose for the execution of his fatal design. He then joined him, and entering into conversation, "Comrade, said he, may one ask you, without being too curious, what affair brings you alone into so solitary a place? Is it to rest here, or are you going farther?" "Certainly 'tis to rest here, said the poor wretch, since I am come hither to hang myself, to put an end to the miseries which cannot otherwise be cured." "Ah! happy meeting for me, reply'd our spiritual comedian, I am come with just the same intention, and we will hang ourselves in company." "After all, added he, fetching a profound sigh, there is but this way for you and I to get out of the misery in which we languish; let us quit then a sorrowful life with which we are burdened, and which we cannot longer prolong without suffering hunger, thirst, and a thousand other distresses that inevitably attend upon poverty."

UPON this *Ignatius* arrived, who had not lost sight of them all the time. He approached

proached his companion, and seeming not to know him, "Good morrow, friend," said he, "whither are you going so sorrowful, so pensive and melancholy?" "I do not go much farther," replied he, "it is impossible for me longer to support the extreme misery to which you see me reduced, and I am come here to put an end to my life: The cord which you see tied to this large tree shall render me this good office. Had I not better, pursued he, die once with a good grace than endure a thousand deaths?"

"What," interrupted *Ignatius*, "do you imagine, that by cutting the thread of your days you will at the same time cut the thread of your sorrows? No, no, do not deceive yourself with so pernicious an error; in murdering yourself to escape small transitory evils, you will precipitate yourself into an abyss of misery, of which you will never see the end. You will do better," added he, "to put your confidence in God, who is able to deliver you from your troubles, and sink not under the temptation of the devil, who, by soliciting you to despair, seeks only to make you miserable with himself." The companion of *Ignatius*, feigning to be moved with this remonstrance, address'd himself to him for whom they play'd this comedy, "What think you," said he, "of this good man's advice, to me
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he appears to be in the right, and that death which we are resolved to give ourselves, far from finishing our misery, will be to us, as he said, the beginning of new pains, and what is worse, of eternal pains, and infinitely more cruel than those from which we seek to deliver ourselves." "If what he says be true, replied the despairing wretch, I confess we should commit a great folly in hanging ourselves; it would be only falling out of the frying-pan into the fire."

I G N A T I U S seeing his exhortation had stagger'd the poor man, pursued his point, and did not quit it 'till he had put him wholly into a good way, in so much that the farce finished with his conversion.

In the mean time *Le Fevre* returned from *Savoy*, disposed to have no other master than *Ignatius*, who, before he would confide entirely in him, was willing to try him still more, and fortify him by the spiritual exercises. They had such a surprizing effect upon the soul of this young man, that confining himself in the middle of the winter in a very cold chamber, he felt so burning an ardour, that, not to be quite consumed, he was obliged to descend into a little court, that he might be cooled with the air. He kept a fast six days together, during which he saw no other food but the appearance of the sacred bread of the Eucharist; and he

would have continued this fast even to the extinction of all his strength, if our knight, fearing to lose him, had not ordered him to eat.

ON the other side, the complacency and good offices of *Ignatius* had rendered *Xavier* more tractable, the change of *Le Fevre* inflamed him, and being told at the same time the illustrious birth of *Ignatius*, he thought his discourses less extravagant. At last money beginning to fail him, and not knowing where to get more, our knight, who had then some remaining assisted him in this pressing occasion, and compleated the conquest of his esteem.

HAVING thus disposed him to listen to him, he continued to press him vigorously, and taking him always by his predominant passion; I do not pretend, said he to him, to stifle your ardour for glory, nor to inspire you with sentiments unworthy of a generous heart, like yours—be ambitious, I consent to it, 'tis the passion of great men; but confine not your ambition to the trifling honours of the earth, immortalize yourself by spiritual conquests, go and declare war against the *Bonzes* and *Imams*, set up the standard of the Cross above the Pagods and Mosques, burn idols and cause to be adored in their stead the images of the divine *Mary* and the saints; consider with
yourself

yourself how you can subsist in the world, the bad condition of the affairs of your family, the miserable situation in which you find yourself even now, threatens you with nothing but vexations and misery; but after all, though you should rise to the highest state of temporal grandeur, of what use will it be to you, to gain all the universe if you lose your own soul.

XAVIER, who was greatly embarrassed in his own person, and saw nothing to hope for on the side of the world, turned all his thoughts to spiritual knight-errantry; at last, after many internal combats, he took a firm resolution to tread in the steps of the knight of the Virgin, and to partake with him the fatigues and hazards of his adventures.

WHEN the vacations began, he performed the spiritual exercises, which his philosophical lessens had prevented him from doing sooner; he wore a hair shirt, passed four entire days without taking any nourishment, and finished his retirement with a seraphic ardour.

A *SPANIARD*, named *Michal Navarre*, strongly attached to *Xavier*, could not endure to see him embrace a manner of life so unworthy his birth; he employed all imaginable means to make him abandon it, and not having been able to succeed, he be-

lieved the only method he could take to cure him of this folly, was to murder the man who had put it into his head, and who made him continue it by his seducing discourses; he then took a resolution of killing *Ignatius*, but as he was going up the stairs that led to his chamber, to execute his horrid design, he heard a menacing voice which said to him, "Where goest thou miserable wretch, and what wouldest thou do." Struck down by these words, and frightened at the danger he was in of being taken, he retired immediately, pierced with the horror of his crime.

THE conquest which I have related, and which cost *Ignatius* so dear, was followed by another which gave him no trouble. Two young *Spaniards* of a superior genius, and who with justice may be put in the rank of the greatest men the company has produced, attached themselves to him all of a sudden. The one, named *James Laines*, born at *Almasan*, a little city of old *Castile*, of the age of twenty-one years; the other, named *Alphonso Salmeron*, who was formerly of *Toledo*, about eight and twenty. The miracles which some infatuated persons had related of him at *Alcala*, where they both had studied philosophy, inspired them with an inclination to put themselves under his direction, and they came to *Paris* as much

to satisfy this inclination, as to study divinity there.

THE first lame man they met, on their arrival, was *Ignatius*, whom they had never seen, yet they knew him immediately by the description which had been given to them of him, his long thin face, his devout air, his *Spanish* physiognomy, would not permit them to doubt that it was him whom they sought; they accosted each other very respectfully, and having told him who they were, and the occasion of their journey, he embraced them, and received them with joy into the number of his disciples; he afterwards made them pass through the trial of the spiritual exercises, from whence they came out, burning with zeal.

He then gained another *Spaniard*, named *Nicholas Alphonso*, and surnamed *Bobadilla*, from the place of his birth, which was a village near *Palenza* in the kingdom of *Leon*. This was a poor boy who had taught philosophy at *Valadolid* before he came to *France*; *Ignatius*, who assisted the necessitous scholars with the benefactions he received, engaged him gradually by the discourses of spiritual-errantry, which he made before he gave him the alms, and after having proved him like the others, made him his fifth companion.

THE sixth was a *Portuguese* gentleman, called *Simon Rodriguez D'Azevedo*, who had studied some years at *Paris*, and was maintained there by the king of *Portugal*. He was young, handsome, well made, tender, polite and ingenious, and so chaste, that he resisted the ladies who enamour'd of his charms, employed unsuccessfully all theirs to render him sensible to their passion. *Ignatius* having contracted a strict friendship with him, engaged him to put himself under his directions; *Rodriguez*, who trusted him with his most secret thoughts, discovered to him one day that which he had always entertained, of giving his life for the conversion of the infidels of *Palestine*, and told him, that he would never enter into any engagement which might hinder him from going to *Jerusalem*. *Ignatius*, ravished at finding him in a disposition so favourable to the design he had of making him his disciple, declared to him, that he burned with the same desire, and immediately *Rodriguez* delivered himself blindly up to him.

OUR knight applauded himself greatly for his choice of these six persons, and believed that with such assistance, he was in a condition to undertake the spiritual conquest of the universe. But reflecting that his first companions were soon weary of him, and had abandoned

abandoned him, he resolved to attach these to himself by ties which they should not be able to break. To do this without their perceiving it themselves, he assembled them one day, and knowing they ardently desired to go and signalise their zeal in *Palestine*, he said to them, with so much enthusiasm that his visage was all enflamed, that he should esteem himself happy to shed all his blood for the faith in a country which had been sanctified by that of God: He added, that while he waited a proper time for the execution of this design, he was willing, by an express vow, to oblige himself to make a voyage to *Jerusalem*, and to renounce entirely the things of this world.

SCARCE had he done speaking, when they all, with one accord, declared that they had the same thoughts and the same intentions with him, whom they acknowledged for their master; and embracing each other tenderly, they promised never to part. But before they left the place where they had assembled, a doubt arose in their minds, which they proposed to their spiritual father. "What shall we do, said they to him, if we cannot pass into the *Holy Land*?" This is what we must do, replied *Ignatius*, if we go to *Venice*; and if no conveniency offers for our embarkation in the space of a year, then we shall be freed from our vow to go to

Palestine, and we will go and offer our services to the pope, to go into what part of the world he will be pleased to send us.

As the greatest part of them had not finished their theological studies, *Ignatius*, who knew by his own experience what rashness it would be to engage in the evangelical ministry without the knowledge of religion, judg'd it absolutely necessary to give them time to finish their studies. He granted them therefore two years and a half, from the beginning of the month of *July* of the year 1534, which was the present month, till the 25th of *January* of the year 1537.

BUT that their zeal might not be able to cool, he thought to bind them by the vow which he had proposed to them, and put it off no longer than till the 15th of *August*; and *Monmartre*, a monastery of religious near *Paris*, was the place he chose for this ceremony. They met all together there on the day appointed, which was that on which the *Romish* church, out of pure condescension for the pious credulity of her children, celebrates the feast of the resurrection of the holy Virgin, and her assumption into heaven, body and soul. This day *Ignatius* had expressly taken to put his troop under the protection of his divine lady. He likewise, who had received the order of priesthood a little before, said mass, and gave the communion from his hands,

hands, in a subterraneous chapel where they believe St. *Dennis*, the areopagite, who never came into *France*, had been beheaded for the faith. After the communion, they made the vow with a loud and distinct voice, undertaking in the time prescribed to make a voyage to *Jerusalem*, for the conversion of the infidels of the *Levant*; to renounce all they possessed in the world, except what would be needful for their expedition to the *Holy Land*. And if they should not be able to get there, or to continue there, to go to *Rome*, cast themselves at the feet of the sovereign pontiff, and intreat him to dispose of their persons according to his good pleasure.

IGNATIUS, ravished at being so happily drawing near the end he proposed, dreamt of nothing but the means of obliging his new companions to continue firm in the resolutions he had had the address to make them take. For this purpose, he conceived an expedient altogether new; this was to make them renew their vows the following years, on the same day of the assumption, and with the same ceremony.

To this precaution, he added another, as they did not all live in the same lodgings, he obliged them to see one another often, to walk out together, and sometimes make their little meals together, to engage them to each other more and more; himself be-

ing almost always with them, and never failing to exhort them to perseverance.

BUT as examples persuade infinitely better than exhortations, however affecting they may be, he resumed his former austerities, and retired to our lady of the fields, which at present is the church of the *Carmelites*, in the suburb of St. *James*, and there devoted whole days to contemplation. He also retired from time to time to a deep and obscure cave of *Montmartre*, where he renewed the holy cruelties which he had exercised on his body in his Cavern of *Manreze*, which this cave brought back to his remembrance.

THESE macerations considerably augmented the pains in his stomach, which again afflicted him, and threw him into so great a weakness, that the physicians forbade him to apply himself to any exercises of piety. And observing that the remedies they gave him had no effect on his disease, they ordered him, as the last resource, to go and breath his native air. But in order to do that, he must remove himself from his companions, to which he was not able to resolve. Mean time other reasons than that of his health, obliged him to follow the advice of his physicians.

XAVIER, Laines, and *Salmeron* having declared that they designed to make a voyage to *Spain*, to settle their domestic affairs before

fore they renounced their possessions, *Ignatius* fearing they would take a distaste to the sort of life they had embraced, and that their relations would force them to renounce it, chose rather to charge himself with their affairs, than run the danger of seeing himself abandoned by those on whom he had founded his greatest hopes. And this consideration was the sole motive which determined him to the voyage to *Spain*.

BUT when he was upon the point of departing, they again accused him before the inquisitor *Matthew Ori*, whom he intreated to come immediately to examine the affair, and give a definitive Sentence. This step he was obliged to take, lest his departure being regarded as a flight, his companions would be made uneasy in his absence. As the accusation turned principally upon the book of *Exercises*, *Ori* desired to read it, and was so satisfied with it, that he asked permission of *Ignatius* to take a copy of it for his own particular use.

BUT *Ignatius* not contented with this approbation, because it was not authentick, returned to the inquisitor a few days after with a notary and three doctors of the *Sorbonne*, and intreated him in their presence to give him an attestation in writing to declare that the book of *Exercises* contained no heresy. *Ori* granted his request with very little trouble,

trouble, for he was himself enchanted with this book.

OUR knight having nothing more to hinder him from going away, took leave of his companions. He exhorted them to constancy, to love one another like brothers, and commanded them to obey *le Fevre*. He agreed with them before his departure, which was at the beginning of the year 1535, that they should set out the twenty-fifth of *January* 1537, to join him at *Venice*, where he would precisely at that time attend them. Notwithstanding his weakness he intended to travel on foot, but his companions, unknown to him, bought a horse, and obliged him to make use of it.

BEING come within two leagues of *Loyola*, he was known by *John d'Equibar*, who had seen him formerly, and who ran instantly to the castle of *Loyola*, that he might be the first to bring this agreeable news. Don *Martin de Garcia*, extremely glad at the return of his brother, whom he hoped to find cured of his visions, did every thing imaginable to induce him to alight at his paternal house, but all to no purpose; he went and lodged at the hospital d' *Aspetia*, a little city near *Loyola*, and would live upon nothing but alms, which he begged from door to door. Don *Martin* represented to him the dishonour he did to his family, by taking to
a life

a life so unworthy a man of his birth, and a man of sense: but he gained nothing; he was not able either by prayers or reasons to draw him from his hospital, or even to hinder him from begging.

HE had no sooner breathed his native air, than he found himself cured of all his ailments. He therefore resumed his hair shirt, his large iron chain, his discipline, and punished his body more cruelly than ever. These austerities did not hinder him from employing himself in the instruction of children, and in preaching. Immediately the churches became too small to contain the crowd of people which followed him, inso-much, that he was obliged to deliver his sermons in the open fields: and what was very wonderful in his preaching thus, was, that the weakness of his voice hindered him not from being heard at a quarter of a mile distance. This weak voice resounded with such a noise, that every one astonished at the prodigy, abandoned the care of his body, to satisfy his soul with a nourishment so exquisite.

THE first time he preached, he told his auditors, that the principal reason for his return, after an absence of many years, was to make satisfaction to a person of that country, who had suffered in his reputation and goods upon his account.

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I CONFESS before all this assembly, cried he, that in my youth being got into a garden of the city of *Aspetia*, with some young men as libertine as myself, we robb'd it of a great quantity of fruit, and made a great havock ; a poor man was accused of this theft, and put into prison, and upon weak evidence condemned to repair the damage ; then addressing himself to this same man, who was present, and calling him by his name, I ask your pardon, said he to him, for the injustice you have suffered, you that are innocent for me that am guilty, and to repair the injury I have made you suffer, I make over to you, irrevocably, as well by way of pure gift, as of honest reparation, two farm-houses that belong to me.

AFTER having given to sinners so great an example of humiliation, he endeavoured to inspire them with the like sentiments. He declaimed also with much enthusiasm against magnificence in dress, bare bosoms, games at hazard, prostitution, and above all, against the concubinage of priests ; so that in ten or twelve preachings, he exterminated all these vanities and vices ; the coquets covered their bosoms, and appeared in modest habits ; the courtezans expiated, by long pilgrimages, the infamy of their past life ; the gamesters cast their cards and dice into the river ; at last, a thing most incredible

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dible of all, the priests dismissed their concubines; and to prevent their returning, he prevailed upon the magistrates and governors, to make rigorous laws against the unchaste ecclesiastics, to the end, that civil punishments might restrain on those whom the pains of hell had no effect.

WHILE *Ignatius* by his preaching produced such wonderful changes at *Aspetia*, *Le Fevre* labour'd at *Paris* to make him new companions; among the young gentlemen who studied there, he gained three by means of the spiritual exercises; one of them a *Savoyard*, the other two *Frenchmen*. The first *Claude le Fay*, who was of *Anesly*, was a young man of great hopes and a very easy temper; the second, *John Codure*, of the diocese of *Ambrun*, of whom very little is spoke; the third, *Pasquien Brouet*, of the diocese of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, a man of art, dexterity and easiness, who had only the appearance of a priest's holiness. These three new companions took the vow at *Monmartre*, which we have mentioned before, and took it on the same day that the six others renewed theirs for the second time.

MEAN time the efforts which *Ignatius* had made to preach three or four times a week in the open field, drew upon him a disorder which turned into a burning fever; he

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he would not allow himself to be carried to *Loyola*, and all that his family could obtain of him was, that two of his cousins, who revered him as a great saint, should watch by him.

As soon as he was cured, he thought of going to set the affairs of his companions in order; and as he designed to perform the journey on foot, he made a present of his horse to the hospital of *Aspetia*, where this venerable beast was kept without work, out of respect to the knight of the Virgin whom he had carried.

DON *Martin* not willing to let our knight go away without a horse, money and servants, he obeyed, rather than disoblige his brother, and to get civilly away; but he no sooner saw himself upon the confines of *Biscay* and of *Navarre*, than he dismissed the persons who attended him, and leaving his horse at liberty to go where he pleased, came on foot to *Pampeluna*, from whence he went to the castle of *Xavier*, to settle the affairs of *Francis Xavier*; he afterwards went to *Almazon* and *Toledo*, upon those of *Laines* and *Salmeron*.

THESE affairs being finished, he took the way to *Valencia*; but not finding there any vessel going to *Italy*, while he waited for some favourable opportunity, he went to *Segorbe* to visit *Don John de Castro*, who was passing his noviciate at the *Chartreux* in
Val.

Val Christ. This was one of the three young Spaniards who, at the persuasion of *Ignatius*, had embraced the life of a beggar in *Paris*, and who afterwards retired with him to the hospital of *St. James*.

As this novice was an inspir'd man, *Ignatius* put an entire confidence in him, and acquainted him with the resolution he had taken of going to the *Holy Land*, and of establishing an order of spiritual knight-errantry; he discovered to him even the plan of this order, which he believed to have been inspir'd with in his long extasy at *Manrese*; he named to him the companions he had already chose, some of which were known to *Castro*, and requested some of his enlightned opinions, upon an affair of so much importance. *Castro*, shutting himself up in his cell, pass'd all the night in prayer, and coming at day-break to find *Ignatius*, Have courage, said he to him, transported with joy, and almost beside himself, your undertaking is the work of God, it will succeed, this is what has been revealed to me this night, and I am so well convinced that it is not a dream, that I offer myself to be one of your companions.

Our knight received these words as divine oracles, and returning revelation for revelation, he declared to *Castro*, that the will

will of Heaven was, that he should become a *Carthusian*, to the end that the witness he would give to the new order might be the more credited.

IGNATIUS confirm'd in his design, by this new revelation, went without loss of time to *Valencia*, where he went on board a merchant ship going to *Genoa*. A most furious tempest put the ship twice in danger of perishing, but it being all of a sudden appeas'd, he was by a favourable wind carried into the port of *Genoa*, which was not far off.

ESCAPED from this danger upon sea, our spiritual adventurer fell into another yet greater on land; going from *Genoa* to *Bologna*, his head being filled with the plan of his order, he strayed among the *Appennines*, and after having walked a long time in these dangerous roads, he found himself at the extremity of a rock, horribly steep on all sides, at the foot of which run an impetuous torrent. Terrified at the sight of the precipices which surrounded him, he stop'd some time to recommend himself to his lady; he afterwards dragged himself along the rock as well as he could, sometimes climbing, sometimes creeping upon all four, and always in danger of rolling into that abyss which he saw under him. Nevertheless, by labouring with his hands and feet,

feet, he gain'd at length the great road, and so put an end to an adventure the most dangerous of his whole life.

THOUGH the great rains had render'd the ways very bad, he did not cease, fatigued as he was, to continue his journey; he suffered extremely all the way, and arrived at *Bologna*, sinking with faintness, almost dying with hunger, and greatly indispos'd; to compleat his misery, at his entring that city he fell into a ditch full of dirt, from whence he came out in such a nasty condition, as rendered him a frightful spectacle. As he had been a long time without eating, necessity obliged him to go and seek in the city a morsel of bread, and to shew himself in that horrible condition; but instead of exciting compassion, he only raised laughter, so that he pass'd the whole day without being able to procure the least subsistence, and would have certainly died of hunger, if the *Spaniards*, who have a rich college in that city, had not taken pity on him. He continued his journey, when he had recovered his strength, and arrived at *Venice* at the end of the year 1535.

As soon as he got there, he employed himself in gaining disciples. Two gentlemen of *Navarre*, who were brothers, the one named *Stephen* and the other *James d'Eguia*, were but just returned from a pilgrimage.

grimage to the *Holy Land*. They were both fallen into a religious fit, and even thought of quitting the world to live always in retirement. *Ignatius*, who had seen them at *Alcala*, soon scraped acquaintance with them. The two bigotted gentlemen, charmed with his pious conversation, thought fit to take him for their director. He tutored them in the spiritual exercises, in order to prepare them for a religious life, and he found no great difficulty to form their minds to his own designs, and to persuade them, that the choice, which they should make at his suggestion, came from heaven. In effect, they were so well convinced, at their coming out of their retirement, that it was the will of God that they should go into the order which *Ignatius* was going to institute; that as soon as ever the pope had confirmed it, they both made themselves members thereof.

ANOTHER *Spanish* Gentleman of *Malaga*, call'd *James Hozes*, a bachelor of divinity, and a great enemy to the *Lutherans*, happened likewise to be at this time at *Venice*, and had heard *Ignatius* spoke of in a manner which inspir'd him with an inclination to put himself under his direction; but, on the other hand, having been told that he was suspected of heresy, he fortified himself with the most effectual antidotes against heretical

heretical infection; and being thus precautioned, he read the spiritual exercises, in which he met with a doctrine quite opposite to that of *Luther*, and having found in the conversations he had with *Ignatius*, that no person more blindly submitted to the papal constitutions than he, he was so much attached to him, that he became his tenth companion.

SOME noble *Venetians* following the example of the two *Navarrese* brothers, enroll'd themselves likewise in the militia of *Ignatius*.

HERE he also contracted an acquaintance with *John Peter Caraffe*, archbishop of *Theate*; who, moved at the horrible corruption in which the clergy lived, became founder of the order of the *Theatins*; which institution labour'd principally to reform the dissolute lives of the ecclesiastics. This same *Caraffe* was afterwards pope, by the name of *Paul* the fourth.

THIS prelate, willing to engage *Ignatius* to enter into the order of the *Theatins*, contributed not a little, by his credit, to draw him out of a bad affair which happened to him at *Venice*. It was reported there, that he had escaped the fire at *Alcala*, *Salamanca*, and *Paris*; and they added, that not being able to spread the poison of heresy in those places, he came to infect *Italy*. These reports

ports coming to his knowledge, he went to *Jerome Veralli*, the pope's nuncio, and begg'd him to make his process, if he was guilty; *Caraffe*, on this occasion, gave such good witness of his orthodoxy, that the nuncio pronounced a legal sentence in favour of the accus'd, which is preserved at *Rome* in the archives of the order of the *Ignatians*.

MEAN while the companions whom *Ignatius* had left at *Paris*, seeing the war re-kindled between *Francis* the first and *Charles* the fifth, resolved to hasten their voyage, and get out of *France* before the passages on the frontiers were shut; they came from thence the fifteenth of *November*, in the year 1536, something more than two months before the time prescribed to them. They took their way thro' *Lorrain*, to avoid *Provence* where the emperor had already pass'd his troops through *Piedmont*, clad like poor Pilgrims, with their staves in their hands, and a leather sack on their backs, where each deposited his writings, and walked along singing hymns and litanies.

THEY travelled thus thro' *Germany*, having their beads hanging at their necks, to make publick profession of the catholic faith, in places where the protestant religion began to prevail, and where they had banished the method invented by the famous *Peter* the hermit,

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hermit, in the year 1090, of praying to God and the Virgin by count, observing to address themselves ten times to *Mary* for once to God.

ARRIVING one night at a country town near *Constance*, the curate followed them to the inn where they entered, and desired to break a lance with them. *Laines*, who was a master in the art of cavilling, accepted the challenge, and carried away the victory with the more ease, as the minister, who was a great drinker and bad controvertist, drowned in his wine the little knowledge he had.

THE following day they pursued their way towards *Constance*, where the protestant religion had been received by the magistrates and people with one common consent. Approaching the city, they met an old woman, who, attracted by the sight of their beads, came towards them making the sign of the cross. The protestants not being able to prevail with her to change her religion, had driven her out of the city for a fool, for an obstinate fool, who was the only person that separated from them, without knowing for why. She kiss'd many times the beads of our pilgrims, and being ignorant of their language, made a sign to them to stay a moment, while she ran to seek some precious relicks, which she brought them ; these were

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were the feet, arms and heads of some crucifixes and little images of the virgin, which the protestants had treated as that demolisher of images *Hezekiab* king of *Judab* did the serpent of *Arron*. Our pilgrims bathed with their tears these sad remains of the objects of their adoration, and prostrating themselves on the snow, which then covered the earth, adored them most religiously. The good woman, by this sight, confirmed in her faith, returned very well pleased with seeing men who would adore images as well as herself.

OUR nine travellers left *Germany*, notwithstanding the rigour of the winter, and after great inconveniencies, which the hope of seeing their dear master made them support chearfully, they came at last to *Venice* the 8th of *January*, in the year 1537. *Ignatius*, who was with *Hoxez*, embraced them all, and shed tears of tenderness over them.

As it was not yet time to go and receive the pope's benediction for their voyage to *Jerusalem*, they employ'd themselves in attending upon the poor in the hospitals. In this service they continued till the middle of the carnival, when they all set out for *Rome*, but without *Ignatius*, who feared his presence would be hurtful to his companions. *John Peter Caraffe*, whom *Paul* the third had made a cardinal, was then at *Rome*, where he

he travers'd the design our knight had of becoming, like him, founder of an order. Devout as this cardinal appeared to be, he could not pardon *Ignatius* the refusal he had given him to enter into the order of the *Theatins*.

THE companions of *Ignatius* had suffered infinite hardships during their journey; they received so little alms, that they sometimes walked ten leagues without getting a bit of bread. The rains hardly ever ceased, and the ways were so over-flow'd, that they were forced to pass thro' places where the water rose to their girdles, so that they were under a necessity of walking almost always bare-leg'd.

BUT notwithstanding all these fatigues, they arrived at *Rome* in good health. *Ortiz* was then there in quality of deputy from *Charles* the Vth to the pope, to maintain the validity of *Catherine* of *Arragon*'s marriage with *Henry* the VIIIth, king of *England*, who had repudiated her to marry *Anne Bullen*. This was the same doctor who was so strongly prejudiced against *Ignatius* on account of the three *Spanish* scholars, of whom I have already spoke. He remembered *le Fevre* and *Xavier*, whom he had seen at *Paris*, and heard them favourably; they removed the ill opinion he had entertained of their master, and gained the esteem of this old doctor in

so great a degree, that he promised them his protection. He spoke so advantageously of them to *Paul* the III^d, that his holiness desiring to see them, proposed to them himself a point of divinity, and being satisfied with the answer, gave them his blessing, which he accompanied with an alms of sixty crowns of gold for their voyage to *Jerusalem*; permitting those at the same time who were not priests, to receive holy orders, where, when, and from what bishop they pleased, under the title of *voluntary Poverty*. They afterwards went to seek alms among all the *Spaniards* who were at *Rome*, and gathered two hundred crowns of gold, which a merchant gave them bills for at *Venice*, besides the sixty crowns which the pope had given them.

AFTER having so happily finished their affairs, they set out for *Venice* to join *Ignatius*, and there vowed perpetual chastity before *Vincent Nigusanti*, the pope's nuncio; then returned to the service of the sick in the hospitals, and on the day of the nativity of *St. John* the baptist, received with their master the order of priesthood.

ALTHO' the war which began to break out between the *Turks* and *Venetians* had interrupted the commerce of the *Levant*, and there was no hopes of going to the *Holy Land*, they were not willing to quit the republic,

public, because of their vow, which oblig'd them to stay there a whole year.

DURING this time, the new priests prepar'd themselves to celebrate their first masses; and, to the end that they might apply themselves with more tranquility to the contemplation of this tremendous sacrifice, they retired to secret places remote from *Venice*.

IGNATIUS chose a deserted cottage near *Vicenza*, where he lived a most penitent life, and where he had almost as many visions as at *Manreze*. Yet after four days retirement, he durst not approach the altar, and tho' the others had said all their masses before the end of *September* and *October*, he did not say his till the *Christmas-day* of the following year.

WHILE they waited for the end of the year, the new priests distributed themselves, together with the old, among the cities and towns of *Venice*, nearest their solitudes, to exercise their zeal. *Ignatius*, *la Pevre*, and *Laines*, went to *Venice*; *Xavier* and *Salmeron*, to *Montefelice*; *Codure* and *Hozex*, to *Trevire*; *le Jay* and *Rodriguez*, to *Bassano*; *Brouet* and *Bobadilla*, to *Verona*.

A BUTCHER'S stall served them for a pulpit when they preached in the streets, and in publick places they mounted upon two stools, crying out as loud as they could to invite people to come and hear them, wav-

ing their hats above their heads for a signal to those whom their voice could not reach. The people who took them for foreign mountebanks, flocked round them, expecting to see some new tricks of *Hocus-pocus*. But those who came only to divert themselves, returned weeping for their sins. A miracle altogether as surprising, as that which attended the sermons of St. *Norbert* at *Valenciennes* *; for of ten words that these spiritual mountebanks said, six were either *French* or *Spanish*, and the other four were a jargon that the *Italians* could not understand without a miracle.

AFTER having thus spent the whole day in preaching in the streets and markets without any other nourishment than a little bread, which they beg'd from door to door, they pass'd the night in ruined houses, or in poor deserted cottages, without any other bed than the earth and a little straw.

THEY could not long support a life so severe; the greater part fell into distempers, and among the rest *Rodriguez*, who they thought would dye. He and *le Jay* had retired to a hermitage near *Bassano*. The hermit, who was called friar *Antony*, omitted

* St. *Norbert* preaching at *Valenciennes* in the *Teutonic* language, his audience, who were ignorant of it, understood him as perfectly as if it was their own.

nothing for the relief of *Rodriguez*, but the violence of his distemper rendered all their remedies useless, and the physician, which the charitable *Antony* brought to him, de-
 spaired of his life.

As soon as *Ignatius* heard of it, he ran, languishing as he was himself, to the assistance of the sick man, whom when he saw, he embraced, and said to him, with a tone which inspired confidence; "You have nothing to fear, my dear brother, God has granted your cure to my prayers, only believe, and you will be cured." *Rodriguez* believed, and in a few days his health was perfectly established.

BUT by a horrible ingratitude he entertained a design of abandoning him by whom he believed himself snatched miraculously from death; discouraged by the fatigues and miseries inseparably attach'd to spiritual knight-errantry, and charmed with the sweetness and tranquility of a solitary life, he found in himself an inclination to turn hermit; but his vow keeping him still in suspense, it came into his head to consult friar *Antony*, and to follow his council blindly.

FOR this purpose getting quit of *Ignatius*, *le Fevre*, and *le Jay*, with whom he was at *Bassano*, he took the way to the hermitage. But scarce had he got out of the city, when a terrible giant appeared before him with a

naked sword in his hand; fear seiz'd him at first, but recovering himself a little, he would have passed on; but the giant transported with fury, looked terribly upon him, menacing him with his sword, and seemed as if he would run him through; so that the poor *Rodriguez*, frighted out of his wits, and all trembling, ran back again to the city, believing he had always the giant behind him.

"Oh man of little faith, said *Ignatius*, when he saw him return, why have you doubted?" *Rodriguez*, in confusion, cast himself at his feet, asking pardon with tears for his fault, and devoted himself to him with the more fidelity, as he feared the formidable sword of the avenging giant.

IGNATIUS, before he returned to *Vicenza*, went to thank the hermit for the care he had taken of *Rodriguez* in his sickness, with whom he held such extravagant discourses, that he passed in the mind of this good man for the greatest visionary he had ever seen. But when *Ignatius* was gone, friar *Antony*, says *Ribadeneyra*, had a vision which made him acknowledge, that the person whom he took for a madman, was an extraordinary man sent by heaven for the salvation of an infinite number of people.

THE year being expired, and the war between the republic of *Venice* and the *Porte* having broke off the commerce of the *Levant*,

Ignatius,

Ignatius, who saw no probability of the freedom of navigation being established in a long time, summoned his companions to *Vicenza*, to which place he was returned, and having assembled them all before him, "Do you think, my dearest brothers, said he, that the *Jerusalem* pilgrim ships, which have sailed all the preceding years, have sailed this year, on account of the war which is kindled between the *Venetians* and *Turks*? We ought not to believe that, like common men, we are governed by a general providence, when so many miracles may convince us we are guided by a particular one. We should be blind not to see that this war is but a second cause miraculously directed by the first, with the only view of disengaging us from a vow which confined our spiritual conquests to that country. Yes, my dear brothers, pursued he, looking on them with eyes sparkling with enthusiasm, God has shut the door of *Palestine*, to make us understand that he calls us to higher enterprises, and that he designs to make use of our ministry, to range every people and all the kingdoms of the world under the obedience of his lieutenant upon earth. Let us haste then to accomplish the other part of our vow; let us go without delay and offer our services to the vicar of Jesus Christ."

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THIS discourse was applauded by them all, and it was resolved that *Ignatius, le Fevre,* and *Laines* should go first to *Rome*, to explain the company's intentions to the pope, and that the others should distribute themselves among the most celebrated universities of *Italy*, in order to gain more companions among the young men who studied there.

BEFORE they parted, they agreed upon some general rules which they obliged themselves to observe. 1st, That they should lodge in the hospitals, and beg their bread. 2dly, That those who continued together, should take their turn to be superiors. 3dly, That they should preach in public places. 4thly, That they should teach the catechism to children. And, 5thly, That they should take no money for the exercise of any of their functions.

THESE articles being concluded, our spiritual adventurers took leave of their companions, and set out for *Rome*. When they came within half a league of that city, they saw a little deserted church, which *Ignatius* entered alone, but came out again in a moment, his face all on fire, and joining his companions; "I know not, my brothers, said he, in an extasy, what God has prepared for us at *Rome*, whether he has sent us there to die upon a gibbet or a wheel, but I well know that, whatever treatment we meet with,

Jesus

Jesus Christ will be there propitious to us. You saw me, added he, enter that little ruined chapel hard by, I went there to recommend to God our little company, which we are going to offer to the vicar of his divine Son. You shall now understand what happened to me there: Scarce had I began my prayers, when I fell into a trance; the eyes of my understanding were suddenly enlightened; I have seen the eternal father, who recommended me most affectionately to his son, and presented me to him. I have also seen Jesus Christ laden with a heavy cross, who after having graciously received me from the hands of his father, regarded me with an eye of benignity and sweetness, and said to me, I will be propitious to you at *Rome*."

THE bare recital of this vision reassured the wavering minds of *le Fevre* and *Laines*, who foreboded no good from the enterprise; and full of courage they followed *Ignatius*, content, if he must, to die with him upon a gibbet or a wheel.

THEY all three arrived at *Rome*, about the end of the year 1537, and soon had an audience of the pope by means of *Ortiz*. *Paul* the III^d, to whom this doctor had boasted of their talents, was willing that *le Fevre* and *Laines* should teach divinity at *Cologne*, and accordingly appointed the first to expound the scriptures, and the other to give

public lectures in the scholastic way. As for *Ignatius*, having returned the money which his companions had received for their voyage to *Jerusalem*, he undertook to convert sinners by familiar exhortations, and the direction of their consciences.

ORTIZ, who of his enemy was become his most zealous partisan and admirer, was the first who put himself under his conduct, and retired with him to mount *Cassin*, to perform in this solitary place his spiritual exercises with more liberty. After he came out of his retreat, he said the divinity he had learned in four days, was incomparably better than what he had taught during many years. How unfortunate—that this miraculous method of learning divinity so readily should be lost; there would be no necessity for universities, a retreat of six weeks would produce a great divine! what time, what trouble, what money would be spared!

MEAN while *Xavier* and *Bobadilla* preached in the streets of *Boulogne*; *le Jay* and *Rodriguez*, in those of *Ferrara*; *Brouet* and *Salméron*, in *Sienna*; *Codure* and *Hoxez*, in *Padua*; and all laboured with equal ardour to gain some of the students to augment their company.

THE marquis de *Pescaire* being at *Ferrara*, inquired into the manner of life of *le Jay* and *Rodriguez*,

Rodriguez, of whom he had heard much. He was told, that they passed one part of the night in prayer, or saying their breviary together; that they beg'd their bread, never approached the fire in winter, were poorly cloathed, spoke only of divine things, and employ'd themselves continually in the instruction of the people.

THERE needed no more than this account to engage the marquis, who was very devout, to intrust them with his conscience. It prepossessed him so much in their favour, that not satisfied with obliging them to come and lodge in his palace, he introduced them at court, and prevailed upon the duke *Hercules de Est* to take *le Fay* for his confessor.

XAVIER, *Hoxez*, and *Codure*, were not so fortunate; the first fell ill at *Boulogne*, and they thought he would die; the two others were made prisoners at *Padua*, by the order of the bishop's suffragan, who suspected them to have bad designs. 'Tis true, they lay but one night in prison, but as soon as they had resumed their employment, *Hoxez* found himself ill as he was preaching in a public place, and was seized with a fever, which carried him off in a few days. In his lifetime he was very brown and ugly, but after his death, *Codure* found him so fair and handsome, that he no longer knew him, and was

not able to cease gazing on him, admiring and kissing him.

IN the moment that *Hozex* rendered up the ghost, *Ignatius*, who was at *Mount Cassin*, saw it enter into Heaven, crown'd with rays of light, just as *St. Bennet* had seen, in the same place, that of *St. Germain*, bishop of *Capua*, carried by angels into *Paradise* on a globe of fire. Thus *St. Gregory* the great relates it in his dialogues, full of the like visions; but *Ignatius* saw more still than *St. Bennet*, for hearing mass, when the priest came to these words of the confiteor, *And to all saints*, he saw heaven open'd, and amidst an innumerable crowd of happy souls, all shining with glory, distinguished that of his companion, sparkling with a lustre far above the others; this vision affected him so much, that he wept for joy many days after.

BUT for an increase of consolation, he was not long without finding another disciple to put in the place of him he had lost.

RETURNING from *Mount Cassin*, he met a young *Spaniard* of his acquaintance, named *Francis Strada*, who, discontented with the court of *Rome*, which treated him with perfidy and ingratitude, had quitted the cassoc for the sword, and went to *Naples* to seek a better fortune than at *Rome*, where

where they pay, said he, the most important services with vain promises. As he had much wit, and great fire of imagination, *Ignatius*, to whom he appear'd an actor very proper to improve a company by words and gesture, made use of all his skill to enrol him among them; he exaggerated the difficulties he would find in raising himself in the army, the fatigues, the hardships, and dangers, inseparable from this glorious profession. "If I do not make my fortune in the army, replied *Strada*, I shall live a life of freedom, and gain glory at least." "Perhaps you may, said *Ignatius*, but when you have acquired this glory, on which you set a greater value than 'tis worth, this spark of fire that evaporates in a moment, can it recompence you for your mutilated limbs, and the loss of your soul? Will you allow me to give you good counsel, renounce this chimerical project, and enter into the spiritual militia that I have assembled; you have talents which even yourself art not acquainted with, make use of these talents, and you will acquire a glory more solid than that which is gained by sensual arms; you will encounter vice with the spiritual sword of the word; you will attempt the conquest of souls, and by saving others you will save yourself.

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THE young soldier, seduced by hopes so magnificent, and praises so flattering, quitted his new profession to follow the knight of the virgin; he returned with him to *Rome*, and became at last one of the finest speakers of the order. Other young men suffered themselves to be gained by the same promises, and follow'd, at the same time, the example of *Strada*.

IN the mean time *Ignatius* judging that his company would never make a great figure, unless it was established under the title of an order confirmed by the pope, thought it his interest to get it confirmed as soon as possible; he confer'd with *Le Fevre* and *Laines* about it, and summoned his other companions, who were dispers'd about *Italy*, to *Rome*; they obeyed the first order, and came to *Rome*, the end of the carnival, in the year 1538. A *Roman* gentleman, named *Quirino Garzanio*, received them all into his house, where they lodg'd freely, and it was in the house of this devout *Roman* that they held their first general assembly.

OUR knight opened his design by a discourse worthy of him. After having put them in mind of all that had happened to them since they had first enlisted themselves to fight under his banners, he told them, "That providence had not miraculously
" brought

" brought them together from so many dif-
 " ferent countries, and united them by in-
 " dissoluble vows, after their long studies,
 " painful journeys, and innumerable hard-
 " ships endured, for every one to do what
 " he should think fit; but that their vows,
 " which had for their object the salvation
 " of mankind, engaged them for ever, nay,
 " obliged them to draw after them, imita-
 " tors of their zeal and manner of life;
 " that the entrance of *Palestine* being shut
 " to them, they ought to conclude from
 " thence, as he had formerly insinuated, that
 " Heaven call'd them to the spiritual con-
 " quest of the universe; that the small
 " number they were at first, not being suf-
 " ficient for so great an undertaking, whole
 " crowds of auxiliaries came into him from
 " all sides, and continued to come every
 " day; but that these assistances would be
 " useless, if those who associated with them
 " had the liberty of retiring when they
 " pleased; that they could never perform
 " any thing great if their company became
 " not an order capable of multiplying it-
 " self in all places, and of subsisting till
 " the end of ages; that he doubted not
 " but so noble a design would meet with
 " opposition, but he was assur'd, all the
 " power and rage of hell could not break
 " it,

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“it, since *Jesus Christ* had promis’d to be
“propitious to them.”

THEY all replied with one voice, that he
ought immediately to erect their company
into a religious order, and that the first step
necessary to be taken, was to prepare the
mind of the pope, who seem’d to be against
new establishments.

THEY afterwards took into consideration
what name they should give their order, when
they should ask the approbation of the holy
father. “If you believe me, said *Ignatius*,
“we will call it the company of *Jesus*;
“this name, which is far above all other
“names, I was inspir’d with in my retreat
“at *Manreze*, and a second time lately,
“when the eternal father appeared to me
“near *Rome*, and associated me with his
“son, so that, my dearest brethren, we will
“seek no other.” Having agreed that they
could not chuse a name more august, they
thought of nothing but the most efficacious
methods to induce the pope to be favourable
to them; but while they were thus em-
ploy’d, *Paul* the third went to *Nice*, a ma-
ritime city of *Provence*, where he procured
an interview between *Charles* the fifth and
Francis the first.

WHILE they attended the return of his
holiness, *Ignatius*, in the capital of the
world, busied himself in the conquest of
souls,

souls, and obtained of cardinal *Vincent Co-
raffe*, whom the pope had left legate at
Rome, permission for him and his disciples
to preach all over it; *Ignatius* therefore di-
stributing them in different churches in the
city, took for himself our lady of *Mont-
serat*, for the tender devotion he always pre-
served for the miraculous image that is there,
before which he perform'd the watch of his
arms, when he made himself knight of this
virgin.

THEIR sermons principally turn'd upon
the necessity of frequent communion, which
custom they endeavoured to introduce, and
made use of all their eloquence to encour-
age fearful sinners, who, from a sense of
their unworthiness, durst not approach a sa-
crament so august and formidable, till after
a penance of many months, and a true
change of life. At last these new preachers
rendered the communion so easy, that,
thanks to their commodious method, the
holy table, almost deserted before, was ever
after crowded with communicants.

YET, busy as *Ignatius* was, he did not
cease to confer often with his companions
on the establishment of his order. He
therefore assembled them often, and in the
night, not to intrude upon the employ-
ments of the day; and in one of these noctur-
nal assemblies asked them, if it was not ne-
cessary

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cessary to the vows of poverty and chastity, they had made at *Venice*, to add that of a blind and perpetual obedience, and for this purpose to elect a superior general, to whom they should be as obedient as to God himself; in fine, if this general ought not to continue so during life, and be invested with an absolute authority. It was resolved, that they should, for some days, consult God about this important affair, and that each of them should pray for the virtue of obedience. Accordingly they came out of this divine commerce full of submission for *Ignatius*, whom they already regarded as their future superior, and readily subscribed to the other three articles he had proposed to them.

THEY now resolved to make it the pope's own interest to approve and protect their order, by adding to the three vows, of poverty, chastity and obedience, a particular vow to go wherever he and his successors should be pleased to send them, even without any provision for their journey, and asking charity, if the holy father thought fit. They agreed in another assembly, that whoever made profession of the order, should be oblig'd to take this fourth vow.

THEY had other conferences, where it was determin'd, that the professed should possess nothing, either in particular or in common;

common; in mean time to open a door for the charities of good souls who were willing to make donations, and leave legacies to the company, they thought it would be proper to have colleges in the universities, with revenues and rents for the subsistence of the students.

PLEASED at having thus form'd the plan of their order, they waited with impatience the return of the pope, not doubting but his holiness would receive them favourably; but a bad affair, which they drew upon themselves by a spirit of envy and domination, raised such a tempest as had like to have overthrown all their hopes.

THERE was a celebrated preacher at *Rome*, a *Piedmontese* by birth, and a religious of the order of the hermits of *St. Augustin*, a man of an austere life, and who preached with much eloquence and success against the corruption of manners, and relaxation of ecclesiastic discipline; the severity of his morals render'd him suspected by *Ignatius*, who sent *Salmeron* and *Laines* as spies, to hear him. They found, that disguised under the doctrine of the holy fathers, that monk preached that of *Martin Luther*, of the same fraternity. *Ignatius* upon the foundation of their report, sent him word, that his sermons gave scandal; but the *Augustin*, who believed he taught a holy doctrine in teaching

teaching that which had been preached by the doctors of the primitive church, continued to inveigh more forcibly than ever against what appeared to him contrary to the practice of the first ages of christianity. *Ignatius* piqued at the contempt the preacher shewed of secret remonstrances, and seeking an occasion to raise the reputation of his company, resolved to refute him publickly. He and his disciples therefore mounting the pulpit, declaimed with great vehemence against the religious *Piedmontese*, who they insinuated was a *Lutheran* monk.

THREE *Spanish* noblemen, the one named *Muddara*, the other *Barrera*, and the third *Castilla*, all friends of *Augustin*, eagerly took his part; and as *Michael Navarre*, the same who at *Paris* attempted the life of *Ignatius*, was then at *Rome*, where he inveigh'd greatly against him, they engaged him to depose legally all that he could lay to his charge. *Navarre*, at their solicitation, declared upon oath, before *Bennet Conversin*, governor of *Rome*, that *Ignatius*, chief of certain strange priests, had been accused and convicted of heresy in *Spain*, *France*, and *Venice*, and that in all these countries he had corrupted the youth, under pretence of putting them in the way to Heaven; that he had turned the heads of an infinite number of scholars, by means of a certain book, entitled, *Spiritual Exercises*;

Exercises; that his companions had debauched, by his order, great numbers of young gentlemen in the universities, and had enroll'd them in their vagabond troop; in fine, that the master, as well as his disciples, had some bad design, which would break out when they saw themselves strong enough to succeed.

THESE accusations, in which, by public evidence, there was some truth, and which the three *Spanish* noblemen had spread every where, ruin'd the reputation of *Ignatius* and his companions; they began to be regarded at *Rome* no otherways than hypocrites, false prophets, and the corruptors of youth; every body shuned them as abandoned wretches, who deserved to be burn'd without pity: in fine, they were grown so contemptible, that the two priests whom the cardinal legate had given them as assistants to hear confessions, thought proper to quit the city for fear of being taken for two of their companions.

IGNATIUS, whom no danger could deter, being quite composed in the midst of this storm, animated his dismay'd companions to fear nothing. "This, my brethren, said he to them, this is what was predicted to us by the heavy cross that I saw *Jesus Christ* laden with, in the vision I had near *Rome*; have courage, he will accomplish the

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the rest; he will be propitious to us according to his promise, let us expect from him with an entire confidence, the success of our affair; but let us not expect it idle and inactive, let us make use of all human means, and act as if we had no assistance to hope from Heaven."

OF all their friends *Garzonio* was the only one that did not abandon them; as he spoke in their favour on all occasions, the cardinal *John Dominique de Cupis*, dean of the sacred college, his relation, reproved him for it one day, and advised him above all to fly from *Ignatius*, as the wickedest among the company. I assure you, replied *Garzonio*, if you knew him as well as I, far from forbidding me the company of so holy a man, you would with eagerness seek him yourself. "I see well, said the cardinal, that this hypocrite has disordered your reason, and that you are as much infatuated by him as his disciples are."

GARZONIO gave an exact account of this conversation to his director. *Ignatius* commended the cardinal's zeal, in not being willing to encourage the practice of the doctrine and morals of a man whom he had a bad opinion of; but added withal, that if he could but have the happiness to spend a moment in his eminence's company, he did not at all doubt of undeceiving him.

Garzonio

Garzonio promised to procure him an audience, and he obtained it the more easily, as the cardinal had a desire to see a man who had occasioned so much confusion, resolving to make him feel the effects of his indignation; so that granting the requested audience: "Let your *Ignatius* come, said he to *Garzonio*, I will treat him as he deserves."

OUR knight, without being daunted at this menace, appeared boldly before the angry prelate, and the conversation they had together lasted near two hours. *Ribadeneyra* has left us in the dark to what was said on either side, and contents himself with telling us, that, in the end, the cardinal cast himself at the feet of *Ignatius*, and asked his pardon, which we must take upon his bare word.

HOWEVER that may be, *Ignatius* went from his eminence to the governor of *Rome*, whom he intreated to judge his process without delay. The governor having assigned a day to hear both parties, they accordingly appeared in court.

NAVARRÉ maintained with new oaths all that he had before deposed. *Ignatius* in reply, produced a letter which had fallen into his hands the very day of their appearance in court, and asked his accuser if he knew the writing. 'Tis mine, replied *Navarre*,

Navarre, without mistrusting what it contained. This letter, dated some months before, declared that *Ignatius* and his companions lived an irreproachable life, that he had known them at *Paris* and at *Venice*, and that they were true apostolical men. It was read, and *Navarre*, who was not able to contradict it, after he had acknowledged it to be his own hand writing, was quite disconcerted, and continued mute.

BUT what completed the justification of *Ignatius* was, that the three judges who had acquitted him of heresy at *Alcala*, *Paris* and *Venice*, were at *Rome* at the same time, and all three deposed in his favour.

THEN *Navarre*, who maintained that *Ignatius* had been convicted of heresy in all these places, was condemned as a calumniator to perpetual banishment; and the three *Spanish* lords retracted what they had said in the presence of the governor of *Rome*, and the cardinal legate.

THE companions of *Ignatius*, on their side, neglected nothing for their own particular justification, being informed that they were deem'd in *Rome* as men of bad manners, they sent attestations from the grand vicars of *Padua*, *Boulogne*, *Ferrara* and *Sienna*, fill'd with praises of their persons, and proofs of their innocence.

IGNATIUS,

IGNATIUS not satisfied with having extricated himself so happily out of this intrigue, was for pursuing his triumph still farther, and insisted upon having, by a public sentence, his innocence manifested to the whole earth, and his accusers branded with infamy. The governor, who thought this was carrying his vengeance too far, protracted the affair to tire him out; but seeing that nothing was able to make him desist, and that he still continued his pursuits, he declared to him, that the cardinal-legate desired things might remain as they were.

DURING these transactions the pope returned from his voyage to Rome, and Ignatius immediately went to him, to complain of the governor. "Holy father, said he to him, it is for the interest of religion to grant the request I have made, that my companions and myself, by a public act, may be cleared of the crimes imputed to us: Our accusers, who are secret enemies of the holy see, will triumph and proclaim every where, that 'tis by our intrigues, and by our credit, we have stifled the affair, being apprehensive of not succeeding. They will be believed, the people will have more faith in them than in us, our doctrine will be suspected, and the church to which we have consecrated our labours, will lose all the effects of them."

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THE pope had no sooner heard these reasons, than he ordered the governor to content *Ignatius*. The governor was obliged to obey; and on the 18th of *November*, 1538, gave a sentence in all the forms, which fully justified the accused, and disgraced the accusers. Of this sentence *Ignatius* took great care to send copies into all places.

NOTHING more was wanting to compleat his triumph, but to see his enemies perish miserably; he had this satisfaction. *Barberrera* died of a violent illness a few days after sentence had been pronounced against him; *Muddara* and *Castilla*, having been accused by some unknown person of heresy, the first was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the other, who found means to escape, to be burnt in effigy.

AUGUSTIN, fearing the like fate, took refuge at *Geneva*, where he embraced the protestant religion; but falling some time after into the hands of the holy inquisition, he finished his life in the flames.

IGNATIUS and his companions, who durst not shew themselves while the tempest lasted, began to appear again in public, as soon as it was appeased. Their first care was to efface, by some brilliant action, the bad ideas which people had entertained of them; they soon found a favourable opportunity

portunity of doing it, and immediately seized it.

A GREAT famine, joined to a very hard winter, had desolated *Rome*. This magnificent capitol of the world was changed into a frightful hospital: nothing was to be seen but spectacles of misery and horror. The streets were filled with a crowd of miserable wretches, extended upon the pavement, dying with cold and hunger at the same time. Although *Ignatius* and his companions subsisted only upon alms, they undertook the relief of these distressed objects. They went thro' the streets, gathering them up, leading some by the hand, carrying others upon their shoulders, and brought them all to the great house where they lodged, after they had left that of *Garzonio*. They borrowed every where beds, and gave them to the weakest; and accommodated others who were better, as well as they could, with straw laid on the floors; they afterwards went from house to house, begging charity for these unhappy people, and procured as much provision and money as nourished more than four hundred of them; and also purchased cloaths to cover them.

THEIR example awaked the sleeping charity of the pope, the cardinals, prelates, and courtiers, who ashamed at having had so much insensibility for the public mi-

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fery, by their contributions raised a fund for the subsistence of above three thousand persons.

THIS charitable act having drawn great praises upon *Ignatius*, he thought he ought to take advantage of an opportunity so happy for the execution of his design; for this purpose he addressed himself to cardinal *Gaspar Contarini*, whose director he was, and having laid before him the plan of his institution, begg'd him to present it to his holiness. The pope read it, and finding that the profest of this new order engaged themselves, by a particular vow, to obey him and his successors blindly in all things, and to go wherever the sovereign pontiff pleased to send them, he cried out, like *Pharoah's* magicians, the finger of God is in it.

IGNATIUS at the same time intreated the holy father, that he would authentically confirm to him what he had approved with his own voice. But his holiness was not willing to do any thing in it without the advice of three cardinals. The first who was charged with the affair, was the celebrated *Bartholomew Guidiccioni*, a learned man, an eminent divine, and a great canonist; but far from being favourable to the introduction of new orders, he thought they ought rather to lessen the old ones, and reduce them all

to four. Devoutly attach'd to the decrees of the fourth *Lateran* council, * and the second of *Lyons* †, against the multiplying new orders of religions, he would not look upon the memorial they put into his hands, and said many times, that, of what nature soever the new institution was which *Ignatius* aim'd at erecting, the church had as little occasion for it, as for many others which she should be glad to get rid of. The authority of this learned prelate brought over to his side two other cardinals, and the affair remained undetermined.

WHILE *Ignatius* was endeavouring to remove the opposition of *Guidiccioni*, the pope demanded some of his companions, in order to employ them in several parts where the holy see had occasion for their services; *Brouet* was sent to *Sienna*, to reform the religious there, who were immersed in infamous debaucheries; *Le Jay* to *Bresse*, to curb the insolence of certain preachers, who declaimed against the abuses of the *Romish* church; and *Bobadilla* to the isle of *Ischia*, to reconcile the chiefs of that country, who had a mortal hatred to each other. *Le Fevre* and *Laines* accompanied the cardinal of *St. Angelo* to *Parma*. *Laines* went to *Plaisance*, and *Le Fevre* to *Parma*, which he afterwards

* Held, 1215, under *Innocent III.*

† Held in 1274, under *Gregory X.*

quitted to go with doctor *Ortiz*, whom *Charles V.* recalled and ordered to be at *Wormes*, where he was to hold a conference between the protestants and catholics. In fine, *Xavier* and *Rodriguez* were destin'd for the *Indies*, the occasion of which was as follows.

GOVEA the *Portugueze* doctor and principal of the college of *St. Barbara*, who was the person that was upon the point of making *Ignatius* suffer a public whipping, and who had afterwards cast himself at his feet to ask pardon for it, being still at *Paris*, and having learned that *Ignatius* and his companions had form'd the design of bringing under the obedience of the holy see the most remote and barbarous nations, imagin'd that they would be very useful in the *East Indies*, which had been lately conquered by the *Portugueze*, and he had wrote to *Ignatius* about it, whose sentiments he was willing to explore, before he took any step with regard to the court of *Portugal*. *Ignatius* replied, that he and his companions were ready to go to whatever part of the world the vice-gerent of God was pleased to send them, that they had devoted their services wholly to him, and that they could not dispose of themselves without the consent of the holy father.

GOVEA

GOVEA sent to *John* the third, king of Portugal, Ignatius's answer, with the letter he had wrote to him, about employing these spiritual warriors to bring the *Indians* under the yoke of the catholic church; this prince approved the scheme, and gave orders to Don Pedro Mascaregnas, his ambassador at Rome, to obtain of the pope six, at least, of these extraordinary men whom Govea mention'd, and to bring them with him.

THE ambassador, who was used to confess to Ignatius, shew'd him his orders, and received this answer from him, "That the pope alone was to decide it, and as to himself, if he were to give his opinion, he would advise that no more than two of his companions should be sent to the Indies." Mascaregnas made the most pressing instances to the pope to obtain as many as the king of Portugal had requested; but his holiness left this affair entirely to Ignatius, who could not be prevailed upon to grant any more than two of his disciples; and the ambassador was able to bring away with him only Xavier and Rodriguez: Small succours indeed, with respect to the number, but very considerable, if we regard the great courage of these heroes, one alone being equal to a whole army, and

sufficient for the spiritual conquest of the universe.

THEY wrought so many miracles at *Lisbon*, that the king had no inclination to part with them; however, at the intreaty of *Ignatius*, he detained only *Rodriguez*, who was a *Portugueze*, and consented to let *Xavier* go to the *Indies*.

IN the mean time *Ignatius* solicited with greater ardour than ever, to obtain the confirmation of his order; but cardinal *Guidicioni* continuing still to oppose him, after he had unsuccessfully tried all human means to induce him to alter his resolution, he at last had recourse to prayer, fasting, and discipline, and, as the last resource, be-thought himself to promise to God three thousand masses, if he should obtain his request.

SCARCE had he made this promise, when behold, says *Ribadeneyra*, the cardinal felt himself wholly changed, without knowing how, or why. He read the writing which he would not even look at before; it removed all his scruples, and the new institution appeared to him so necessary for the church, that he repented his having ever opposed its confirmation.

As to *Paul* the third, judging that the holy see, being attacked on all sides by haughty, ambitious giants, stood in need of this

this extraordinary succour, he readily confirmed the order of *Ignatius*, under the name of the *Company of Jesus*, by the bull *Regimine militantis Ecclesie* *.

THIS bull, which was published the 27th of September, 1541, limited the number of the profest, and restrained them to sixty; but this restriction, which greatly displeased *Ignatius*, was cancelled two years after by another bull, which he obtained by the force of remonstrances and solicitations.

* Nevertheless, in *Italy* and *Spain* they were called by the populace *Theatins*; at *Nola* in *Campania*, *Jesuits*; at *Ferrara*, *Scophotti*; at *Bologna*, *Priests of St. Lucy*; at *Modena*, *Reformed Priests*; in *Spain*, *Ignatians*, from *Ignatius Loyola*, the ringleader of their sect, who was an officer of *Biscay*. Besides which they go by many more names, and are called by *Paul III.* *Confirmati*, or the new confirmed order, who indeed, in one respect, are too wise, for that they think, in the end, to command Heaven itself. *Hist. of the university of Paris*, tom. iv. pag. 855.

Ignatius first founded this order, the members of which are now diffused in great numbers all over Christendom. On this side the *Alpes* they are called *Jesuits*, and in *Navarre* and *Arragon*, they still retain the name of *Ignatians*, which is applied to them with much more decency and propriety from their founder *Ignatius*, than that of *Jesuits* from the most holy and venerable name of *Jesus*. *Baptist le Grain*, *Decade of Henry the great*.

The people call them *Inigists*, from the name of *Inigo*, which, in *Spanish*, signifies *Ignatius*. *Bouhours*'s *Life of St. Ignatius*, pag. 298.

As soon as he saw his order approved by the pope, he proceeded, without losing any time, to the election of a general; he had then only *Codure* with him, but he recalled *Laines*, *Salmeron*, *Le Jay*, and *Brouet* to Rome, who, of all his disciples, were only able to attend him. *Xavier* and *Rodriguez* had left their votes in writing when they went from Rome. *Le Fevre* sent his, and *Bobadilla* not having any opportunity to do so likewise, at his return confirmed the choice which the others had made.

IGNATIUS and the five companions, who were with him, agreed to take three days to deliberate in private upon the important choice they were to make; they pass'd this interval in prayer, and reassembling on the fourth day, all the votes were for *Ignatius*, except his own, which he was to give indifferently to him that had most suffrages.

ALTHOUGH he ought naturally to have expected that they would fix upon him, yet he appeared as much surpris'd at his election as he would certainly have been had they elected any other than himself. "Is it possible, my brothers, said he to his companions, that being so wise as you are, you should have elected me your superior general? alas, I am not worthy of this employment, and I declare to you, that I am not able to ac- quit.

quit myself of it, for how can I command others when I know not how to command myself. 'Tis with the utmost sincerity that I speak, added he, when I consider, the vices of my past life, and the imperfections of my present, I cannot resolve to accept of this charge; let it not offend you then, if I conjure you to think of some other person who may be more worthy to fill it than I am."

THEY all represented to him, "That the unanimous consent with which he had been elected, was an evident proof, that his nomination came not of men but of God, and consequently he could not oppose it without resisting inspiration." "God forbid, replied he, in a very devout tone, that I should ever be wretched enough to resist the holy ghost; but, my dearest brothers, be well assured first, that 'tis he who has inspired you, and for this purpose, let us again implore his assistance during three or four days more, and then we will proceed to a new election."

THE disciples consented to this out of complaisance to him; and he was elected a second time. Well, my brothers, said he then, I will remit this affair into the hands of my confessor, he knows all my bad inclinations, and if, notwithstanding my cor-
poral

poral and spiritual infirmities, he orders me to submit, I will blindly obey.

THE will of God is already but too manifest, replied his companions, and to doubt any longer is to oppose it; but all they could say gained nothing upon him, he absolutely resolved his confessor should decide it. Accordingly he went to the monastery of *St. Peter in Montorio*, to find a religious of the order of *St. Francis*, named father *Theodosius*, to whom he commonly confessed himself, during three whole days, he made a general confession to him of his past life: after which father *Theodosius* commanded him from God, to accept the charge of general; he obey'd as he had promised, and by an effect of the most humble obedience, took the monarchical government of the company upon himself on *Easter-day* of the year 1541.

IT was resolved, that the *Wednesday* following, which was the 22d of *April*, they should make their solemn profession, and the ceremony was performed in the following manner.

THEY went first to visit the seven churches which are the principal stations at *Rome*, and being come to *St. Peter's*, *Ignatius* said mass at the altar of the virgin. After the consecration he turned towards the people, holding a large host in one hand, and in the
other

other the form of his profession, wrote with his own hand, and read his vows with a loud voice, in these terms. “ I *Ignatius de Loyola*, promise to God, and to our holy father the pope, his vicar upon earth, before the virgin *Mary*, and all the celestial court, and in your presence, my brethren, to keep a perpetual poverty, chastity and obedience, according to the form of life contained in the bull of the institution of the company of *Jesus*, and set forth in the constitutions of this said company. I also promise a particular obedience to his holiness the pope, with respect to the missions express’d in the same bull, and to take care that little children are instructed in the first principles of the catholic faith.”

HAVING thus renewed his solemn vows, he received the communion. Then turning towards his companions, who were kneeling at the foot of the altar, and holding five little hosts upon the patten, he received their professions, and then administered to them the communion. They all repeated the same vows which he had uttered before ; but with this difference, that he made his vow immediately to the pope, and they made theirs only mediately to his holiness, addressing them immediately to *Ignatius*, as to their principal head and superior. And, in fact, the obedience which the *Jesuits* pay to

to the pope, is but subordinate to that which they yield to their general, whom alone they blindly obey, as if he were God himself.

MASS being ended, they went all together to the high altar, under which they believe the bones of the blessed apostles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* are deposited; here they all paid homage to their monarch, by humbly kissing his hand, as a mark of their submission and obedience.

THE general entered upon his office by doing the lowest acts of humility; the station of a cook appeared to him too high; he took upon him that of a scullion, and fetched water, carried wood, kindled fires, scummed the pots, turned the spits, scoured the kettles, washed the dishes, and cleaned out the kitchen.

AFTER having given his successors this extraordinary example of humility, he employed himself in teaching children the catechism, in the church of St. *Mary de Strata*, which *Peter Codace*, which was one of the pope's officers in great power at *Rome*, had given to the *Jesuits*, besides a house to dwell in. This man, whom they afterwards had the good fortune to bring over to them, quitted the court, with several great posts, to enter into their order. He gave them all his possessions, which were very considerable, and, by his interest, procured

procured for them such liberal charities, that the society, with the greatest reason, regard him as one of their principal benefactors, and as their chief temporal father.

ALTHOUGH *Ignatius* only gave instructions proper for children, according to the obligation of his vow, yet all sorts of people came there, even men and women of quality, divines and canonists. He explained the mysteries of the faith with little learning, and in broken *Italian*; but his zeal supplied his want of knowledge, and the barbarity of his expressions. He spoke with so much energy of face, eyes and hands, that, according to the account of *Ribadeneyra*, every one returned with compunction in his heart.

He continued this exercise for four days in the same church, and it is from his example, that the superiors of his order teach the catechism four days, when they enter upon their offices.

IN the mean time *Xavier*, for whom the king of *Portugal* had procured the pope's diploma, which qualified him as apostolical legate in the *Indies*, set out upon this legateship, and left *Rodriguez* in *Portugal*. The republic of *Venice* recalled *Laines*; doctor *Ortiz* took *Le Fevre* with him to *Madrid*; *Bobadilla* and *Le Jay* went to succeed *Le Fevre* at *Vienna* and *Ratisbon*. In
fine,

fine, *Salmeron* and *Brouet* were sent to *Ireland*, to defend the catholic faith in that nation, which *Henry* the eighth, of *England*, was going to withdraw from their obedience to the holy see.

THE pope invested them with the character of nuncios, and gave them a very ample power; but their mission proved unsuccessful. The severity with which they treated the people of that kingdom, who are not the most patient, the austere penances which they obliged them to do for the least transgressions, and their attacks upon the government, exposed them to so much danger, that, for fear of falling into the terrible hands of *Henry* the VIIIth, to whom they would have delivered them, they escaped with precipitation into *France*, from whence they proposed to return to *Rome*. On their arrival at *Lyons* they were stopp'd on suspicion of being spies from *Spain*, with which *France* at that time was at war; but the cardinal de *Tournon*, who knew them, being then in that city, set them at liberty, and furnished them with the means of pursuing their journey.

WHILE these brave champions, in so many different places, endeavoured to extend the empire of the pope, *Ignatius* was not idle at *Rome*, he undertook to convert the *Jews*, and began first with the beggars of that religion,

ligion, whom he maintained in the house of his order, that he might engage them to be baptised. Afterwards he exerted the admirable talent which he had for begging, and gathered as much money as enabled him to build a house for the entertainment of all the poor *Jews* who should, for the time to come, embrace the catholic faith.

AT his persuasion, *Paul* the third made a decree, that all *Jews* who should embrace the christian faith, should peaceably enjoy their estates; that children, who turned catholics, without the consent of their parents, should not be deprived of their right of inheritance; and that the riches acquired by usury should be given to the new converts. *Julius* the third, and *Paul* the fourth, confirmed this decree, and made a new one, which imposed an annual tax of a certain sum on the synagogues in *Italy*, to be applied to the maintenance of the proselites.

THESE ordinances and establishments, from time to time, brought from the synagogues to the catholic church, a very small number of miserable wretches, who were dying with hunger, some debauchees, who wanted to withdraw themselves from the authority of their parents; but rarely any body that was thoroughly convinced of the truth of christianity. But however suspected such conversions may appear, the church, notwithstanding

withstanding, does not fail to glory in them, because she is contented with appearances.

THE zeal of *Ignatius* was not limited to the conversion of the *Jews*; he likewise laboured with equal ardour to reform lewd women. *Rome*, holy *Rome*, was fill'd with a prodigious number of prostitutes; all those who were willing to abandon their infamous profession, were received into the convent of the *Magdalenes*; but they were obliged to take all the vows of this house of penance, and to submit to be confined for life within its walls. This condition seemed too hard for married women, girls and young widows, who, though willing to forsake a life of prostitution, yet could not resolve to embrace another which was so austere. Therefore it was necessary for *Ignatius* to find out some expedient to reform two sorts of debauchees: Those who dreaded the resentment of their injured husbands, stood in need of an asylum, where they might be out of danger till they could reconcile them; and others, who were willing to quit a loose life, without abandoning lawful pleasures, had likewise occasion for a place where they might be furnished with the necessaries of life, without being immured.

IGNATIUS

IGNATIUS considering that provision was to be made for two sorts of sinners, and being willing to remove all pretexts for their continuing in their wicked course of life, form'd the design of another house, where girls and married women might be admitted indifferently, without making any vow; he was the first who contributed to the building of this house, and after his example, many gentlemen and ladies, of the first rank, furnished large sums for the same use; so that in a little time a grand edifice was erected, where they established for these penitents a famous college, under the title of the *Grace of the Holy Virgin*.

IGNATIUS himself went in quest of the ladies of pleasure, in order to bring them to this new asylum, and was not ashamed to appear publicly in the city in crowds of them. Some people were so officious as to tell him, that he only lost his time, and that these miserable wretches were too much hardened to be ever entirely reclaimed. "If I hinder them from offending God but one night," replied he, "I think my labour not ill bestowed, and I should not count it lost, though I were sure they would return to their infamous commerce the next morning."

Not satisfied with having provided for the reparation of past wickedness, he endeavoured

deavoured to prevent it for the future. Considering, that the virtue of many young girls was in danger; either for want of education or fortune, or because some graceless mothers made a practice of prostituting them; for such as were exposed to these misfortunes, he founded a monastery, and dedicated it to St. *Catherine*.

THIS zeal expos'd him to the most injurious slanders. He had shut up in the college of the *Grace of the Holy Virgin* a married woman, who had run away with her gallant. The gallant, who was a passionate man, having attempted to take her by force from this house, in despair that he could not get his ends, broke all the windows with stones; and, not contented with this revenge, he defamed *Ignatius* and his companions wherever he went, and spread about a great number of bitter lampoons against them, containing capital accusations.

THE *Jesuits* at first seemed to regard these satires with contempt; and, as if they knew not who was author of them, they loaded him with civilities and caresses, in hopes of gaining him over, or, at least, of engaging him to hold his tongue. But this policy served only to render him more daring in publishing new libels, and *Ignatius* was obliged to complain to the pope, and intreat him to appoint commissaries to examine

amine these accusations. His holiness gave this province to the governor and the vicar of *Rome*, who declared by a legal sentence, dated the 10th of *August*, 1543, that they were calumnies.

THERE was also a priest at *Rome*, who accused them of heresy, of revealing confessions, and committing that detestable sin which modesty forbids to mention; the atrociousness of these crimes made them so little credible, that the *Jesuits* neither thought fit to justify themselves, nor to prosecute their accuser, who scrupled not to say publicly, that *Ignatius* himself deserved to be burnt alive. But time having revealed the criminal life of this priest, his punishment made their apology; he was suspended for ever from his priestly function, deprived of all his benefices, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

THESE oppositions did not lessen the zeal of *Ignatius* for these sort of establishments: He continued to draw from the purses of charitable souls, a fund for the subsistence of orphans, and procured two houses to be built in *Rome* for them; one for boys, the other for girls, which are supported to this day.

IN the midst of these fatiguing employments, the monarch of the *Jesuits* did not forget the necessity there was for giving a body

body of laws to his monarchy, that might insure its duration. He laboured day and night with *Laines*, who had read all the lives and all the constitutions of the heads of the several orders, and extracted from them what he judged most conformable to the nature of the government, which his master and he had agreed to establish.

But *Ignatius*, who desired his subjects should regard the constitutions of his order as divine laws, to the end that they might the more blindly submit to them, gave them to understand, that he had received them from Heaven. The admirable method which they say he used in writing them, is as follows; first he examined every article by the common way of reasoning, and, weighing all the arguments for and against them, he gave the preference to those which appeared to him to be of most importance. Afterwards he consulted God, and supplicated him, through the intercession of the holy virgin, to shew him what was most proper for the service of his divine majesty, and for the interests of the company. Moreover, when he had wrote one constitution, he laid it upon the altar, said mass, and offered it up to God, with the divine sacrifice; to the end that the eternal father might see it, and let him know that he had inspired him with it.

HE

HE tells us himself the rules of modesty, which he has prescribed to his children, and which consist in holding the head strait, but inclining somewhat forwards, without bending it one way or the other, in not looking up too much with the eyes, but keeping them rather below the eyes of those with whom they speak; in not wrinkling their forehead or nose; in not opening too wide, or shutting too close the lips; in appearing rather joyful than sad, and in walking gravely. He has told us, I say, that these constitutions cost him, no less than seven times, a great effusion of tears, and very fervent prayers.

HE has also taken care to inform us, that he confer'd four whole days with God, before he took his last resolution about the article which regards the professed houses of his order; though the whole affair was to know, whether they should have fix'd revenues, or should live by alms; by which he would insinuate, that he had had much longer conferences with God upon essential things; and that with regard to his constitutions, they were the work of inspiration. And because the most essential matters which they contain, regard the form of government of his monarchy, a government which may pass for a master-piece of policy, we shall give here a slight sketch of it.

THE

THE monarch, under the modest title of *Superior General*, exercises an absolute and unlimited authority, which he holds for life; his subjects are obliged blindly to obey him, without being permitted even to examine his commands. He has the power of making new rules, and of dispensing with old ones; he admits into, and expels out of the order, whomsoever he pleases; he appoints persons for all the offices, except those of his counsellors and monitor; he bestows employments on whom he thinks fit; he convokes the general chapters, where he presides as the soul which animates them, and always has the advantage of two votes; in a word, every thing passes through his hands, and nothing is done without his approbation.

IT is the whole company, assembled in a general chapter, which elects the monarch. To qualify a person for this high station, it is required, that he hath taken the fourth vow. In this election, they are to regard the illustrious birth of the person to be elected, the titles of honour, riches and reputation, which he had when a lay-man; but above all things, they are to consider, whether he be expert in the management of affairs, that are to be transacted both at home and abroad; whether he hath an ardent zeal for the glory of the monarchy; a vigilance which

which will let no opportunity slip of extending its dominions; intrepidity to undertake the most difficult and perilous adventures; courage and resolution to withstand the powers of the earth; vigour to pursue what they undertake, and perseverance to go through with it.

SEVERAL inevitable accidents render the office of *Vicar General* absolutely necessary. If the monarch is oblig'd to take a long journey; if any indisposition hinder him from applying to business; if the infirmities of old age, or the painfulness of an incurable illness, render him incapable of performing his duties; in all these cases, there is a necessity for having somebody to supply his place. In the first, he appoints his vicar himself to govern the monarchy during his absence. Thus, for example, *Laines*, who was the immediate successor of *Ignatius*, having been sent to *France* to the conference of *Poissy*, nominated *Salmeron* for his vicar-general, and under the pontificate of *Pius* the IVth, returning with *Salmeron* to the council of *Trent*, where they assisted, he invested *Francis de Borgia* with the general vicarship.

THE monarch has the same right of naming a vicar in the second case; and in both cases, the power of the vicar ends as soon
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as the absent monarch returns, or the sick monarch is recovered.

BUT in the third case, that is to say, when age or an incurable sickness renders the monarch incapable of reigning, then, as a perpetual vicar-general is wanting, invested with an absolute power and a right to succeed to the throne, the company has reserved to itself the nomination, which, however, it cannot make without the consent of the pope. Thus, in 1661, by virtue of a bull of *Alexander the VIIth*, they appointed *John Paul Oliva* to be vicar-general, with the right of succession and power of governing the company despotically, during the life of *Goswin Nickel*, the ninth general, who sinking under years and infirmities, could no longer sustain the weight of government.

THE monarch ought also, before his death, to name a vicar-general, and if this has been neglected, those who have taken the fourth vow, residing then at *Rome*, have a right to elect one. The duties of this vicar consist in summoning the general congregation for the election of a new monarch, and in governing the monarchy during the vacancy of the throne. His authority is limited; he can neither introduce new rules, new ceremonies or new customs, nor alter those he found established; he ought to conduct himself in every thing according to the disposition of the deceased

ceased monarch; to decide no important affairs but by a plurality of votes of the assistants who compose his council; and his power immediately expires when the new monarch is elected.

THE assistants are those whose compose the privy-council of the monarch, and are his ministers. They bear the name of the kingdoms or states of which they are subjects, as of *Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy*; they are chosen in the same manner as the general, by all the company assembled. The design of their establishment is to assist him in the necessary duties of his charge; yet they do so no otherwise than by observing his conduct. If he should fall into any heresy, live a scandalous life, or dissipate the revenues of the order, they can, without his consent, convoke a general congregation, and have him deposed with the usual forms; or if the evil is very pressing, and will not admit of delay, they have a right to depose him themselves, after having, by letters, taken the suffrages of the provinces; but this case has not happened yet, and in all appearance never will.

BESIDES the assistants, the monarch has another observer of his actions, who is also elected by the general congregation. This person is supposed to admonish him privately of any irregularities he has observed in

his conduct; but he is enjoin'd to execute this office with all the circumspection, regard and profound respect which a subject owes to the sacred majesty of his sovereign. This giver of advice is called his admonitor.

BUT notwithstanding this lenitive with which *Ignatius* was willing to temper the exorbitant authority of the general, there is no monarch more absolute, more respected in his dominions, and who less fears a deposition than the monarch of the *Jesuits*. To raise himself above all apprehensions, he has nothing more to do, than to gain over five or six of his ministers, which is extremely easy, as they are all entirely devoted to him; besides, the provincials, who are his creatures, will never consent to the deposition of him, who not only made them what they are, but can continue them in their posts; and as they are masters of the votes in the general congregation, they can always hinder the design of the assistants.

THE provincials govern the provinces of the monarchy. They are as much as possible to advance the affairs of the provinces committed to their care, to observe the laws of the monarch, and never to introduce new ones without his consent; they are empowered, in a case of necessity, to name the vice-provincials, when the monarch

narch has not named them himself; they can also, in the same case, change the superiors, as well of profest houses as noviciates, as also the rectors of colleges in their provinces. And they nominate the novice-masters, the procurators, ministers, spiritual tutors, school-masters, preachers, confessors, monitors of superiors, regents of colleges, professors, and the first officers of the universities, except the rectors and chancellors; but their choice must be approved by the general.

THEY can admit to the noviciate any persons in whom they find the necessary qualities, and have the power of dismissing any in the first or second noviciate, always excepting those whom the general has approved, or who have brought great advantages to the company, in which case they cannot dismiss them without permission from the general. They cannot dismiss scholars who have been approved, nor coadjutors of any kind, without his knowledge, unless there is an absolute necessity for it; but they have no power at all to send away either those who are professed, or authorised coadjutors, whether they are religious or lay-men; this authority belongs only to the monarch.

THEY have four assistants, one of whom always performs the office of monitor;

and these assistants, named by the general as counsellors to the provincials, are, in effect, spies whom he sets over them, to give him information of all their actions.

THE superiors of professed houses are those who govern them under the authority of the provincials, to whom they are subordinate; they are to watch over the subaltern officers who depend on them, to oblige them to do their duty; to see that discipline be exactly observed, and to punish those who do not conform to it.

THEY have rectors appointed to govern and procure for them all possible advantages; they are to observe the customs established by the general and provincial; to oblige the professors and regents to be exact in the performance of their duty, and to regulate the studies of the scholars, according to the method and order established.

THEY have under them a prefect-general, and inferior prefects to assist them; they grant to the prefect-general as much power as they judge convenient, and allow him to inspect the conduct of the particular prefects.

THE commissaries and visitors are extraordinary officers, whose functions resemble those of overseers; the monarch sends them into the provinces of the monarchy, to correct the abuses, which, either through the

the negligence or bad government of the superiors, have been overlook'd.

THEY visit all the houses and colleges of the province to which they are sent, hear the complaints of superiors against their inferiors, as also of inferiors against their superiors: They are to give an account of their administration to the principals, who afterwards inform the monarch in what condition they have found things, that he may, according to his wisdom, remedy abuses.

THIS power is limited by their commission, and it depends entirely upon the monarch to confirm or annul every thing they have done.

EVERY province, every profest house, noviciate, and college, has its particular procurator, besides whom, there is a procurator-general who resides at *Rome*, and is charged with all the affairs of the company.

THE procurator of a province manages all the affairs committed to him by the provincial, and is oblig'd to give him an account of them at least twice a year. His rules oblige him to make up all differences without going to law, not to try a cause but when it cannot be avoided, never to appear in the courts of justice but when there is an absolute necessity for it, and upon all other occasions to employ proxies.

IF a law-suit cannot be determined without an extraordinary favour, he is to acquaint the provincial of it, and to demand of him whatever succours are necessary to bring it to a favourable conclusion.

IF an affair of the last importance is to be transacted at *Rome*, he must first of all acquaint the provincial of it, to the end that he may write to the monarch about it, and he must likewise inform the procurator-general of every circumstance relating to it. In fine, the procurator of every province is to inspect the procurators of professed houses, noviciates and colleges of his province, and he is obliged to rectify their proceedings, whenever he finds them defective.

THE procurator of a professed house is intrusted with the management of its temporal concerns, and must supply all its wants; he must lay in provisions at proper seasons, and collect alms from those who are accustomed to give them.

HIS rule enjoins him to study the convenience of his benefactors, to forget none of them, but to increase, as much as lies in his power, their number, and to endeavour to gain their good will.

THE procurator of a college, and the procurator of a house of novices, are directed by their rule, to take the same care of the temporal things committed to their charge,
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as if they immediately belong'd to our lord *Jesus Christ*.

THEIR office consists in providing for the college and noviciate where they are procurators, every thing necessary for life; they are to collect the revenues and alms, and to look to the management of law suits, observing in this respect, the same rules as the procurator of the province; they are likewise to observe their conduct to the orders of their respective superiors, to whom they must also give an account of every month.

BESIDES these high officers there are many inferior ones, such as the examiners, to whom those who are desirous of entering into the order, address themselves first: The masters of the novices, who are charged with the care of trying them: The ministers, who act by the orders of their superiors, and assist them in the exercise of their duties: The under ministers, to whose care is entrusted whatever belongs to the kitchen, the refectory, the cellar, and chambers, which they take care to have kept in great order: The counsellors, who assist the superiors with their advice: The monitors, who advertise them of the faults they commit: The spiritual directors, who teach them the method of praying, of reciting the rosary, performing the spiritual exercises, and who preside over all acts of devotion: The pre-

fects of the church, who take care to adorn it and keep it in repair, to see that the masses are said, and to give notice of the fasts and festivals: The prefects of the readers at table, who teach them a proper pronunciation: The prefects of health, those of the library, and of the refectory, the sacristis, the infirmarians, the porters, the masters of the wardrobe, the œconomists, the kitchen-masters, the callers-up, and the visitors of the cells, which names are all answerable to their respective employments.

THE subjects of the monarchy are divided into five different classes, namely, the novices, the approved scholars, the coadjutors, the profest of four vows, and the coadjutors temporal. To begin then with the novices.

THE principal qualities the company require in those who desire to become members of it, are, among others, an easy temper, a sprightly genius, a good constitution, an agreeable person, and a genteel air. It excludes those who have abjur'd the christian faith among the infidels, or who have publicly held heretical opinions, as well as persons who are noted either for civil or canonical crimes, or those who are subject to any weakness of mind, or wandrings of reason; those who have wore the habit of a hermit, or a religious of any other order, though
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but for one day, and lastly, all who are descended from *Jewish* or *Mahometan* parents.

SUCH therefore as are desirous of entering into the order, must address themselves to the examiner, who interrogates them, to the end that he may discover, whether they are not in any one of these circumstances of exclusion. If he finds a person disqualified, by being in any of these cases, he may dismiss him immediately, unless he happens to have a superior genius, or a very great estate, then he must acquaint the superior with it.

BUT if he discovers no obstacle, he asks a multitude of questions of those who present themselves, and presses them to tell the naked truth; some of these questions are, whether they are born of a legitimate marriage, if they are the only sons, if they have not some hereditary distemper, if they are not eunuchs, if they are not in debt, if their families are numerous, rich, and well allied, if they have sisters, and to whom married, if their ancestors have always been *Catholics*, and have preserved a good reputation: He afterwards asks them if they are under no engagement, either by holy orders, a promise of marriage, or any other vow; what motives engage them to enter into the company, and if they are firmly

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firmly resolved to persevere in their vocation.

If the examiner is contented with their answers, he makes a report to the superiors, who, after having again examin'd the candidates, and received the necessary informations, admits them to make their first noviciate.

THIS noviciate continues two years. They try the novices the first month by the spiritual exercises, and during this month of retirement, they have no commerce with any person whatever, not even with the *Jesuits* of any other house; they make a general confession to the superior of the noviciate, or to the confessor whom he has appointed for this purpose; then they give them the habit of the order, and tho' it be only to try them, yet they do not think proper to leave with them their own cloaths.

DURING the two years of their noviciate, they sound them a thousand different ways to discover the bent of their inclinations, the strength of their capacities, and their predominant passions; they exercise them in the lowest employments; they preach to them nothing but self-denial, and an entire submission to the judgment of their superiors; they employ them in vocal and mental prayer, meditations, and in reciting their beads and rosaries; they oblige them to read
books

books of devotion, such as the cloister of the soul, the work of the devout *Hugh de St. Victor*, the works of *Dennis*, the *Carthusian*, surnamed the *Enlighten'd Doctor*, the epistles of *St. Catherine of Sienna*, the dialogues of *St. Gregory the great*, and many other works of this kind; they send them to attend the sick in an hospital, during a month, and for another month they are obliged to perform a pilgrimage on foot, without money, begging all the day; at their return they enquire of the governors of the hospital, how the novices have behaved; and they write to persons in the places through which they pass'd in their pilgrimage, to know in what manner they were cloathed: The two years of their noviciate being finished, they permit them to take the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience; after which they put them to their studies.

They are taught the languages, poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, divinity, ecclesiastical history, and the holy scripture, according to the age and genius of each. Those whose minds are capable of all, are exercised in all the sciences; and those who have not so universal a genius, are fixed to that science for which they have the greatest talent.

IGNATIUS, having experienced at *Alcala*, that being desirous to learn several sciences

sciences at the same time, he was not able to make himself master of one, requires that a person should be well grounded in the *Latin* tongue, and in the liberal arts, before he enters upon a course of philosophy; that he should not study scholastic divinity, 'till he has learn'd logic, metaphysics, and morals; and that he should not apply himself to positive divinity, till he be well versed in scholastic; that he should not go from one science to another, without a strict examination; and that in every science, the most common doctrine is to be followed, and the most approved authors; in fine, that in studying the holy language, less regard is to be had to the understanding of the scripture, than to the defence of the *Latin* version: The extream poverty likewise to which he had been reduced in the university at *Paris*, was, next to his visions, the greatest obstacle to his studies; he thought, therefore, he ought not to oblige the scholars to live upon alms as he had done, and therefore founded colleges for them.

BUT lest their attachment to their studies should, by degrees, extinguish the devotion of the students, he prescribed several customs to maintain and rekindle it; customs which were of wonderful use to the superiors to penetrate into the depth of their souls, the principals of which were to receive the sacrament

sacrament once in eight days; to examine their consciences twice a day; to perform the spiritual exercises every year; to renew their vows twice a year, with great preparations, such as three days of retirement, meditation and extraordinary penance; a sincere and exact declaration of the state of their souls to their superior, and a general confession; besides this, he fell upon an expedient altogether new, this was to establish a second noviciate of a year, in which they were only to apply themselves to the exercises of a spiritual life, without mixing with them any human sciences; they generally employed these novices, during the second noviciate, in teaching the *Catholic* doctrine, and sending them upon missions to little cities and villages, to exercise and inure them to speak in public.

AFTER this second noviciate, they engage them absolutely to the company, making them promise to live and die in the observance of the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience they have made; they oblige them, by an express vow, to accept any employment, however base it may be, which the superior thinks proper to give them, and never to request any other.

THESE vows are made in secret, they are neither written or sign'd to express what they are, or who makes them, either by the

the superiors or any other person, yet they bind the particulars to the company as firmly as if they had taken public and solemn vows; so that they incur the punishments denounced by the canon law against apostates, if they quit the order without the consent of the general; they cannot even leave it to enter into another yet more austere, except that of the *Carthusians*.

BUT the company, which, by the indulgence of the pope, has establish'd such solemn vows for the individuals, binds itself by very weak ones to them; the general can dismiss them whenever he pleases, absolve them from their vows, and restore them to the same liberty they possess'd before they were engag'd. 'Tis for this reason the scholars preserve the right of inheriting their possessions, during the time they remain in the order, although they can neither enjoy or dispose of any part without the consent of their superiors.

THIS custom is received in all the catholic countries, except *France*, where the parliaments were not willing to permit a thing so prejudicial to families, that their fortune should depend upon the caprice or disgust of a general of the order.

THE approved scholars are those who are out of their novicate or studies, and have taken the secret vows before mentioned: Of these

these they make regents, or employ them in other duties, according to their genius; they owe an entire obedience to the professed seniors, and the spiritual coadjutors.

THE spiritual coadjutors are, of a rank above that of the approved scholars; the vows which they make are different from those of the scholars, in that they are public, and made to the superior, who accepts them in the name of the company, by an express permission from the general; but they have this in common with those of the scholars, that they are reputed weak with respect to the company, and the general can absolve them when he dismisses them.

THE spiritual coadjutors may be put into any of the offices of the order, under that of a superior of a profess'd house. The highest they can be raised to is that of rector; if they have well acquitted themselves of the employments they have been intrusted with, they admit them to make the fourth vow, if not, they always continue spiritual coadjutors.

THE profess'd of four vows are those who, after a long trial, are adjudged at last worthy to live and die in the society, and of being intrusted with its secrets. They add to the three ordinary vows, that of an entire devotion to the orders of the pope, and engage themselves by this vow, to go on a mission

mission wherever his holiness pleases to send them; these vows are public, absolute and solemn; they bind those who make them irrevocably, and without return, to a religious state; they render them incapable of all hereditary right, and deprive the company of the right of inheriting in their name.

As for the rest, the professed seniors have neither funds nor rents, they are to subsist in their houses, journeys and voyages, upon the charities that are given them.

THE temporal coadjutors are lay-men, who make only simple vows; they employ them in all manual works, and in the lowest offices of the house; they make only one year of noviciateship, but they give them no public office till after two years.

They receive with difficulty and great precaution those who have made any progress in letters, or who have been in the army, or are of noble blood, and are still more so to those who have served in secular houses, or delicate employments; they admit with more ease any persons who have been taught a trade, or bred up to labour, and whose learning only consists in knowing how to read and write; but they entirely exclude the vulgar, and all whose understandings appear but little capable of cultivation.

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THERE are none but the profess'd of four vows who may not be dismiss'd from the company. The general, without being oblig'd to give his reasons, can dispose of all the others as he pleases; in some very extraordinary exigences he may, indeed, dismiss the profess'd of four vows; but this very seldom happens, and cannot be done without the consent of the profess'd himself, for 'tis the company's interest to agree with those who are initiated into its mysteries, and acquainted with all its secrets.

NOTHING can be more dazzling than the end *Ignatius* propos'd by the institution of his order, each individual being not only to labour for his own salvation, and the perfection of his own soul, but even to use his utmost efforts for the salvation and perfection of his neighbour.

THE means he has establish'd for the attainment of the first of these ends are mental prayer, a strict examination of their conscience, reading books of devotion, frequent communion, spiritual retirement, and such other acts of piety.

TO facilitate the second, that is to say, the salvation and perfection of his neighbour, he has ordain'd catechisms, preaching, devout conversations, visits to prisons and hospitals, directing of consciences, controversial disputes with the adversaries of the Ro-

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man church, missions as well among catholics as infidels, and the instruction of youth.

BUT to draw more people to the schools of the company, which would not have been so much frequented if they had taught nothing but the catechism, he ordered the sciences to be taught there *gratis*. 'Tis for this reason the *Jesuits* were sought after by so many princes, who gave them establishments in the principal cities of their dominions, and loaded them with so many favours, that in a few years they became more powerful than any other religious order who had preceeded them for many ages.

As *Ignatius* had destin'd the children of the company to go to every place where he had any hopes of advancing their temporal interests, by the means of spiritual conquests, he gave them no other habit than that of ecclesiastics, and order'd that this habit should always be conformable to the fashion of that country in which they were. The design he had of gaining men, oblig'd him to accommodate himself to the weakness of those who could not bear the burlesque habit of the *Monks*; more wise in this than *St. Francis* and *St. Dominique* his models, he would not cover his children with the ridiculous frock, which so many nations held in contempt.

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HE charged them with neither abstinence from meat, or any other austerities; the obligation they were under of going from one end of the world to the other, at the first command of the pope, made health and unexhausted strength absolutely necessary.

NEITHER were they oblig'd to sing the praises of God in the church; for besides that there were pious idlers enough who were well paid for this service, it appeared to *Ignatius* incompatible with the warlike duties of his institution.

BUT as, during his military life, he had observed, that the subordination of dependance in an army, among the generals, the inferior officers, and the soldiers, was what contributed most to the glory of the chief who commanded it, he thought it necessary to establish a like subordination in his order, and it was upon this plan that he erected his laws of blind obedience. It will be sufficient to mention some of the principal of them, to convince the most incredulous, that at least, in this respect, his constitutions are a master-piece of sacred policy.

FIRST, THE inferiors are, to regard their chief, whether he be wise or imprudent, holy or imperfect, not as a man subject to errors, but to believe as an article of faith, that

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that he is the vicar of Jesus Christ, and whatever he commands them is just and conformable to the law of God.

2dly, THAT considering him thus as infallible, they are to abandon themselves blindly to his conduct, submitting with a most perfect resignation, and entirely renouncing their own will in all things, taking his will and his judgment for the rule of their own.

3dly, THAT they should be between his hands like a piece of soft wax, that will take any form he gives it, like a dead body that has no motion in itself, like a little statue to be removed to what place he pleases; in fine, like the stick of an old man, which he takes or quits according to his convenience.

4thly, THAT they are to be as ready to obey his voice, as if it proceeded from the mouth of Jesus Christ, they must immediately quit every thing to obey it, tho' it were even a letter begun and not finished.

5thly, THAT they should obey, indifferently, all sorts of superiors, without making any distinction between the first and second, or even the last, regarding equally in all our saviour, and remembering that the authority is communicated to the last by those who are above him.

6thly,

6thly, THAT the subaltern superiors should have a perfect dependence on those who fill the most elevated ranks, and that following the rules of subordination, the rectors should be no less submitted to the principals, and the principals to the general, than the particulars are both to the one and the other.

AFTER having thus deprived all the subjects of their will, their judgment, their understanding, and their reason; after having made them instruments purely passive, and mere machines, he began to consider what were the most effectual means to put their head in a condition of using them to his advantage. For this purpose he contrived, first, That the monarch should have a fix'd residence, that it should be generally at *Rome*, to the end, that from this capital he might be able to govern all his subjects, dispersed through the different parts of the world. 2dly, That the ministers, or assistants, should be always near him, and that they should maintain an exact correspondence with the provincials of kingdoms, from their district, to be instructed in the company's affairs in those kingdoms, and make a report of them to the monarch. 3dly, That the superiors, both of profess'd houses and noviciates, as also the rectors of colleges, should write every week to
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their provincials, and inform them of all that passes, as well without as within their houses; that the provincials should write every month to the monarch, and give him an account of whatever they have been inform'd of by the superiors and rectors. 5thly, That besides this, they should make a recapitulation of all the letters they have received, and send it in the month of *January*, written and sign'd with their hand; that they should also send every year, catalogues of every province, in which should be mark'd the number of the novices, approved scholars, spiritual and temporal coadjutors, and the profess'd of four vows, the name, age, strength, talents, virtues, vices, perfections and defects of each; what reputation the company bears; what progress it makes; what donations, and alms they have received; who the persons are who protect it, and who persecutes it; but lest memoirs of this importance should be lost, or fall into the hands of strangers, a deputy is elected by the provincial congregation, which is held once in three years in all countries, and composed of the rectors and principal seniors of the order. This deputy carries these catalogues to *Rome*, with orders to inform the general of every particular concerning the condition of the province which deutes them. 7thly, That the

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the superiors and provincials of *Brass* and the *Indies* should do the same, when any opportunity offered of sending their letters. 8thly, That the superiors and rectors should write to him whenever any opportunity offered, and that every individual of the order should have the liberty of addressing themselves to the monarch when they pleased, either to disclose their necessities, or make their complaints.

By this regular commerce of letters, the monarch of the *Ignatians* is as well inform'd of the state of his monarchy, extended as it is over kingdoms far remote from each other, as if it was enclosed in the same place where he resides. Thus, as the *Ignatians* themselves say, this great body of the society, easy to remove, but difficult to trouble, is put in motion by the will of a single man.

BESIDES, as the subjects of this monarch hear the confessions, not of the people, but likewise of the ministers, nobility, and even kings and princes, and of course know the most secret things which are transacted in courts, they do not fail to give him intelligence thereof; so that, without ever stirring out of his cabinet, he governs his monarchy, and all the kingdoms of the earth.

Thus having a perfect knowledge of the characters, dispositions, passions, and good

and bad qualities of all the catholic princes, their forces, revenues, alliances, interests, projects, resolutions, the love or hatred which their subjects bear them; he favours those who love the society, and employs all his machines to destroy those who treat it ill. When he has taken a resolution in his cabinet-council to be revenged of any prince that has not the interest of the society at heart, he immediately sends orders to his emissaries to render him suspected to other princes, to sow enmity against him wherever they go, and even to excite his own subjects to rebel against him. Those whom he employs for this purpose, think it the greatest glory to execute his orders with a blind submission; and as they know, by the way of confessions, good and bad subjects, it is easy for them, by making use of this knowledge, to cause troubles, seditions, and revolts.

THIS is a short and true detail of the form of government of the *Ignatians*, founded by the incomparable knight of the virgin. The following books will shew how this monarchy found means to diffuse itself through all parts of the world, and what difficulties it had to encounter.

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The End of the first Volume.